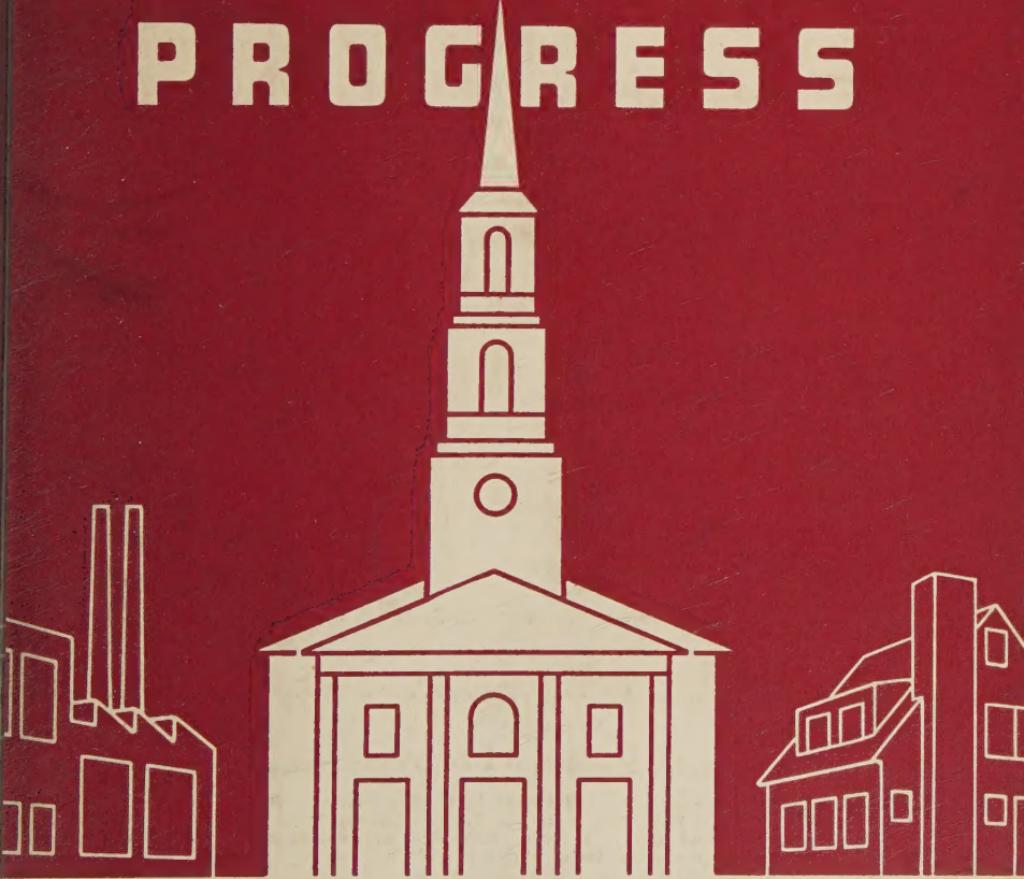


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SOCIAL PROGRESS



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Number

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Social Progress

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

VOL. XXXIII

MAY, 1943

No. 9

General Assembly—1943

FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

As we look out over our sad world, we know there are few ills that threaten civilization that would not disappear if Christ's teaching concerning brotherhood were really practiced.

We cannot end war by hating. We can only end it by love, the love that binds us together about a Father who loves us all and a Saviour who came to bring good tidings of great joy to all peoples.

What of our interracial strife? In Christ's day the Jew hated the Samaritan. Jesus saw behind the prejudice that is at the basis of racial antipathies. Thrice he touched these despised Samaritans. Once at the Well of Sychar he led a woman of Samaria into the Kingdom. Again when the ten lepers were cleansed and only one returned to thank him, he noted that the one was a Samaritan. Then in his matchless parable of the man who, along the Jericho road, fell among thieves, he pictures the man's own kindred cruelly passing him by while a Samaritan comes to his relief.

Brotherhood is something that knows no racial barriers, no distinctions of color or blood. It has eyes only for human need. Some of you recall that during the First World War we had serious race rioting in this country between the whites and the blacks. But every one of these disturbances was in Northern cities. Not one occurred in the South where the colored population is so large. Behind that fact is one of the significant incidents of American history. Southern leaders realized at the beginning that race clashes might occur at any time during the heat of the war, and they determined to forestall them. In every Southern city from Norfolk and Richmond to Atlanta and New Orleans interracial conferences were planned. In the city where I lived ten of the leading white men sat about a table with ten representative colored men and talked over together the problems that entered into the relation of these races. The white men of the Southern

States treated their black neighbors, not as inferiors, but as brothers in a common cause. And, mark you, not one case of race misunderstanding arose during those tense years. When in the spirit of Christ we meet and treat men of other races like brothers, they will respond as brothers. Here and here only is the solution of the race problem in this and every other land.

STUART NYE HUTCHISON,

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Moderator

April 1, 1943

To THE COMMISSIONERS—GREETING:

The 155th General Assembly meets in Detroit in May, 1943. It will be a different kind of Assembly. Of course, each Assembly is necessarily different, because it is colored by its particular location, its membership, and the condition of the times in which it functions. The 1943 Assembly meeting in the arsenal city of the world will be streamlined. The number of commissioners will be reduced by about one half, and each commissioner, representing a larger constituency than before, will bear added responsibility in seeking to represent the mind of the Church.

Fifty-two years have gone by since the General Assembly met in Detroit. In 1891 the Synod of Michigan had 8 presbyteries, 193 ministers, 221 Churches, and about 23,000 communicant members. Today the Synod of Michigan has 8 presbyteries, 253 ministers, 239 Churches, and about 75,000 communicant members. In 1891 the entire Presbyterian Church had 800,000 members and in 1943 it has over two million. The 1891 Assembly elected as its Moderator William Henry Green, D.D., of the Presbytery of New Brunswick. The retiring Moderator of the 1943 General Assembly is Stuart Nye Hutchison, D.D., of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh. The Stated Clerk of the General Assembly that met in Detroit in 1891 was William Henry Roberts, D.D., who served for 36 years and who was the uncle of the present Stated Clerk, William Barrow Pugh, D.D.

Detroit has always been a dynamic city, but today, with its throbbing machinery and war industry, it is even more so. Of all the large cities Detroit has had the largest influx of people to participate in the war industrial program, including 160,000 Negroes. It is a city seething with racial prejudice and class conflict. Deep chasms exist between capital and labor here. All the bitterness and hate that exists between social groups and classes are accentuated here. The tension points and sore spots in the national and international situation confront us squarely in this city.

Against this background of local, national, and world crisis, the Church will meet in Detroit to probe, interpret, and plan. The Church must interpret again its complete task and gird itself for service to perform in Christ's name a ministry to mankind. The Church must come to moral decisions on the relevance of the Gospel to world events.

The state of the world today is conclusive proof that it has been built on wrong foundations. We have neglected God and his laws. We have failed to understand that for people to be free anywhere they must be free everywhere. Our actions have denied that we believe that every individual has been created in the image of God and is a person of immeasurable worth.

We hold great hopes for a better world, but the end of the war is nowhere in sight. The Church still faces a tremendous task of ministering to millions of men and women who are in the armed forces of the nation all over the world. At the same time it is necessary to keep the Church strong at home. After the war is over, it will be necessary to demobilize ten million men and restore them to civilian life. Twenty million more must be transferred from wartime industry to peacetime work. America will have lost much of its best leadership. It will be war weary and heavily in debt. Under compulsion to feed hungry millions all over the world, we will face the subtle temptation of isolation.

In Europe and Asia there will be unstable governments, starving millions, whole populations uprooted, large areas of land devastated, national boundaries disrupted, armies to be demobilized, peacetime industries to be restored, educational systems in revolution, culture in ruin, thousands of religious institutions destroyed, and a war-weary, disillusioned, bitter, cynical people. Unless the emancipation of color becomes a reality in Asia, a new war will arise to make the *five* freedoms available there.

Everywhere men talk about that new order we are to build. Experience has taught us that we may win the war and lose the peace. This time we must prepare for ordered liberty, social justice, collective security, and religious freedom for the whole world.

Just as surely as a nation needs a great policy, so the Church needs a great religious program. A vital Christianity will project its own program. Let us here seek to find that program for our time!

Detroit, Michigan
April 1, 1943

FREDERICK H. OLERT,
*Minister, First Presbyterian Church, and
Chairman of the Local Committee on
Arrangements for the General Assembly*

The Crashing Challenge of Christianity

*By Francis B. Sayre **

IT IS a good time for Christians to be alive. Through these perilous days when everywhere around us are gathering shadows and fear and suffering, men and women are searching their hearts and seeking anew true foundations upon which to build. Now is the time for Christianity to come into its own.

All of us know that a mere military victory, important and essential as that clearly is, will not of itself bring us a lasting peace. At the conclusion of the First World War, because the basic problems growing out of a materialistic civilization were left unsolved, we gained only a short respite between wars and failed to achieve lasting peace. Military victory gave us our chance, but we lost it. The situation now is infinitely more grave. If we lose our chance again, our plight will be critical indeed.

At such a time comes the crashing challenge of Christianity. The Western world has tried to build a civilization based upon the thesis that the source of maximum power lies in naked material force, that happiness and well-being come through acquisition of material pos-

sessions, that the economic welfare of a nation can be secured through the concentration of wealth in small privileged groups. Yet if the principles that Christ taught are true, it is clear that no civilization resting upon such a basis can endure. Christ taught that love is the source of greater downright power and greater permanent strength than physical might, that giving yields greater and truer satisfactions than getting, that all men are linked in inescapable brotherhood, and that the practices that sin against brotherhood make for disintegration and decay.

In other words, if Christians honestly believe that what Christ taught was true, Christianity has a tremendous part to play in shaping the kind of world that we must build at the end of the present war. Either Christianity is an active, living force shaping and qualifying our national and our daily life—or it goes by default. If it is to be made dominant and meaningful in America, by whom will this be wrought? God depends upon human ministers for the doing of his work. We are those ministers.

We are today confronting an attack with such power as the world has never seen before by the forces of materialism and self-interest and cynicism, against the spiritual foun-

* Former Governor General of the Philippines; now of the United States Department of State. Condensed with permission from an address delivered at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, December 29, 1942.

dations of justice and morality and human brotherhood that humanity has been struggling these 2,000 years to build and without which emancipation can never come.

Unless and until we win the war, we cannot hope to build a Christian peace. At the same time we cannot afford to wait until the war is won to determine what kind of peace we must have. Whatever the statesmen may hope to obtain, the kind of peace that America will actually get is the kind of peace that the rank and file of American people—on the farms and in the factories and around the country stores—demand and set their hearts upon obtaining. The crystallization of opinion takes time. And so it behooves Christians throughout the country to study the problems of peace, and to think through the underlying issues so that they can play their part—I hope a winning part—in formulating an American public opinion that is Christian and strongly vocal.

How can we achieve a durable peace? It is not a question of what kind of peace would victors like to impose upon the vanquished, but, in the cold light of experience, how can we build a peace that is likely to prove enduring and that rests upon Christian fundamentals?

If I read history aright, such a peace must be built upon at least four underlying principles—first, international co-operation; second, a recognition of the supreme value

of human personality and of human rights; third, economic freedom; and fourth, international control and supervision of armament-building.

In the first place, no peace today can possibly be lasting unless it is built upon increasingly close international co-operation. The present world, as a result of modern scientific invention and development, has become so closely knit together by steamships and cables and airplanes and radios that in actual fact no nation any longer can isolate its activities—or indeed even its thoughts.

The political, economic, and commercial problems that convulse the modern world have come to transcend national and even continental boundaries. No nation, single-handed, can solve them. For instance, no nation can afford to disarm as long as no organized international force exists to prevent individual freebooters from attacking it. No blockade can be made effective unless all concerned participate. No nation can safely remove its trade barriers against discriminatory practices, dumping tactics, and the like, unless all move together in a common frontal attack upon all unconscionable trade barriers. The problems that make for war are world-wide in their scope and can never be solved except by concerted thought and organized joint action on the part of the world community.

Two practical conclusions follow. If we are to build for lasting peace,

we must abandon the nineteenth-century conception that the road to peace lies through a nicely poised balance of power. Again and again cold experience has taught us that no peace that rests upon the premise of utterly independent nations owing no obligations of any kind to each other can last.

It further follows that the only way under present-day realities to make peace secure is to set up an international organization for the keeping of the peace. This does not mean creating overnight a world government with sweeping and general power to invade the domestic affairs of sovereign states. It does mean the delegation to some international organization of certain carefully defined and restricted powers. It means also clothing it with sufficient force to carry out effectively those restricted and limited powers. Presumably these would include among others the power to prevent by concerted action international territorial aggression and thievery, the power to regulate and control heavy armament-building in every country of the world, the power to administer and supervise the government of certain backward and colonial areas, and the power by concerted action to attack certain discriminatory and antisocial practices in the field of international trade and finance. The degree of power accorded to such an organization would naturally grow with time as experience proved its

increasing worth and competency.

The difficulties of creating such an organization, properly delimiting its sphere of action, and clothing it with effective power are not to be minimized. But the issue of future American participation in shaping world affairs has come to be too crucial for us to allow it to be decided henceforth upon prejudice or emotion or partisan politics. There can be no stable peace unless we Americans participate in the building and the keeping of it.

If the peace is to be made enduring, it must be built also upon a second principle—the sacredness of the individual human personality. Civilization goes forward when the fundamental rights and interests of human beings are placed first in the scale of values. Peoples do not exist to enable governments to attain a place in the sun. Governments exist to serve peoples. The reasonable security of one's person and one's property, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, the right to dispose of the fruits of one's own labor, equality of rights before the law, complete independence of thought, and reasonable independence of action—these are basic human rights on the safeguarding of which peace must be built if it is to be made lasting. No arrangement that denies or cripples these elemental rights will prove stable and no state that permanently thwarts them can endure.

(Continued on page 34)

Pillars of Peace

*By John Foster Dulles **

THE Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace has devoted its first two years to studying the moral principles that underlie a just and durable peace. Our conclusions are principally embodied in a "Statement of Guiding Principles," which was approved by the Federal Council of Churches at its annual meeting last December. One of those guiding principles is that "as Christian citizens we must seek to translate our beliefs into practical realities." We are trying to do that now and we have agreed on certain practical conclusions that seem to us to follow inescapably from the moral principles we have enunciated.

We are making public our conclusions now because the time is already critical. As this war turns from a defensive to an offensive operation, as territory is regained, and as peoples are liberated, the United Nations are brought face to face with grave problems. A just and amicable solution of those problems can be found only within a framework of organized international collaboration. If that is not to be, then each of these interim decisions will involve power politics, with the United Nations playing against each other and innocent and helpless people the victims. Serious differences will arise to disrupt allied harmony, a second war will already be in the making, and indeed an orderly ending of this war might elude us.

The only cement that can keep the United Nations united, both for victory and for durable peace, is the cement of organized postwar collaboration with the United States an active partner. Morality and enlightened self-interest combine to require this.

The greatest doubt arises from the conduct of the American people after the last war. Then settlements were made on the assumption of a League of Nations with the United States a member. When we rejected this and elected isolation, the shock was profound and unforgettable. This time other nations will want to be sure, and the only reliable assurance will be clear evidence of the determination of the American people this time to go the way of international collaboration.

Such a determination must be that of the people themselves. No one can do this for them. Citizens generally cannot, perhaps, pass on details. But they can and will decide the direction of our foreign policy. In this de-

* Chairman of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; authority on international relations and member of the Committee on Social Education and Action.

mocracy the people alone have that ultimate decision and only their considered verdict will enable us to pursue a steady and reliable course in this turbulent world.

We have, therefore, laid before the American people a statement designed to crystallize American opinion in favor of postwar collaboration within the areas of recognized national interdependence. Our statement, which follows, is simple but significant. The reception that has been accorded it shows that it is responsive to a great demand. We hope that Christian men and women will widely discuss it with a view to making such "pillars of peace" a matter of deep-rooted community opinion. Nothing less will serve in this critical period of history.

STATEMENT OF POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS

I

The peace must provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations.

The interdependence of the world is strikingly proved by the events that led up to this war. That interdependence calls for permanent political collaboration. Such collaboration should, as quickly as possible, be universal. But, practically, the initial nucleus is the United Nations who have already been forced by events to collaborate.

The degree of collaboration can properly be related to the degree of interdependence, and thus any universal scheme may contain within its framework provision for regional collaboration. Europe particularly illustrates the need for regional collaboration. To continue there the un-co-ordinated independence of some twenty-five sovereign states will assure for the future that, as in the past, war will be a frequently recurrent event.

II

The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions.

Science has made it possible for the world to sustain a far greater population than was formerly the case and to attain for that population a higher standard of living. But this involves a large degree of transportation and interchange between one nation and another. Thus all people are subject to grave risk, so long as any single government may, by unilateral action, disrupt the flow of world trade. This is a form of anarchy that creates widespread insecurity and breeds disorder. It prompts nations to seek self-sufficiency for themselves at the expense of others.

We do not here envisage as presently practical a condition of "free trade." But the world does require that the areas of economic interdependence be dealt with in the

interest of all concerned and that there be international organization to promote this end.

III

The peace must make provision for an organization to adapt the treaty structure of the world to changing underlying conditions.

The world is a living and, therefore, a changing organism. Change is the one thing that is inevitable. As the world is now organized, a fixed status is prescribed by treaties and, unless all the parties agree, that status cannot be changed except by force or the threat of force. Change effected under the threat of force seldom is productive of peace, because change under such circumstances seems to reward, and thus encourages, violent and lawless elements. On the other hand, nations, like individuals, seldom freely abandon their acquired legal rights. We must, therefore, have an organization to promote such changes in the treaty structure of the world as may be needed to keep that structure responsive to future changes in the underlying conditions. Without this, no conditions of peace, however just and fair initially, will permanently assure peace.

IV

The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

There is a ferment among many peoples who are now subject to alien rule. That will make durable peace unattainable unless such peoples are satisfied that they can achieve self-rule without passive or active resistance to the now constituted authorities. We realize that autonomy, in certain cases, is not now desired, and in other cases is presently impractical. But judgments as to this tend to be warped, and certainly are suspect, when made by the governing power itself. There must be international agencies, which embrace persons free from the self-interest which comes from identification with the particular governing power, and which are charged with the duty to see that pledges of ultimate autonomy are honored and that, in the meanwhile, there is no exploitation for alien ends. Self-rule, when achieved, would, of course, be subject to the limitations which follow from the other Propositions here stated.

V

The peace must establish procedures for controlling military establishments everywhere.

It is assumed that those nations with which we are at war will be effectively disarmed. But that alone will not suffice. Military establishments everywhere should be brought under some form of international control. This has two aspects: one negative and the other positive.

The negative purpose is to bring to an end the present system which permits nations generally to create unlimited armament for use for purely national ends. Continuation of that system would ultimately undermine the international organs we contemplate.

It would either paralyze their action or lead to action preferential to nations possessed of great military power. There should nowhere be vast military establishments which have no valid reason for existence except to enable their possessors to be a law unto themselves.

A positive purpose of control is to bring such military establishments as remain into the affirmative service of international order. International agencies, such as those we contemplate, will primarily need to depend upon the moral support of the great body of mankind. That is their only reliable source of permanent power, and unless they can command such moral backing they are not entitled to other forms of power. But any society will produce minority elements who are not subject to moral suasion and who, if they feel able, may defy the general interest to advance their own. Therefore, the economic and military power of the world community should be subject to mobilization to support international agencies which are designed to, and do in fact, serve the general welfare.

VI

The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty.

Wars are not due only to economic causes. They have their origin also in false ideologies and in ignorance. Peace, furthermore, cannot be preserved merely by documentary acts that create political bodies and define their powers and duties. Such bodies can function effectively only as they can count upon a public opinion to understand and support them.

It is, therefore, indispensable that there exist the opportunity to bring the people of all the world to a fuller knowledge of the facts and a greater acceptance of common moral standards. Spiritual and intellectual regimentation that prevents this is a basic underlying cause of war. As such it is not a matter of purely domestic concern, and governments and parties must recognize this if the world is to achieve a durable peace.

So we present this Statement of Political Propositions and we ask the people of this nation

- to study, to understand, and to accept these Propositions and their implications;
- to seek that such Propositions shall be adopted by our Congress and Executive as official policy of our Government;
- to seek, through proper channels, the acceptance by other nations of these Propositions, to the end that an immediate start be made to realize them.

The many who believe the things we believe and who desire, as citizens, to do something about it have here a field for action.

Public Opinion and Free Enterprise

*By Walter B. Weisenburger **

Much is said today about the future of free enterprise. Some regard a post-war revival of the system as a threat to economic well-being; others see in a return to free enterprise the only solution of our postwar economic problems. The following address supports the latter view, and discusses the problem of the relationship of the public and industry to it. Because this is one of the important aspects of postwar economic adjustment, we present this clear and objective analysis of the situation and proposals for action in the belief that this problem is of widespread interest and importance.

THE public is sold on the private enterprise system. A recent survey showed that freedom of religion was the only personal liberty that the people would be more insistent upon retaining. Every one of us recognizes that political control over the manner in which private property is used can be carried so far that private enterprise will be stifled, even though actual possession of the property remains in private hands.

Our first deduction as to the present state of public opinion—a basic discovery upon which I believe we must predicate our whole effort—is, therefore, that the real issue involved in industry's fight for private enterprise is to preserve individual initiative in the management of property, not merely the right of the individual to own property.

The Problem

That problem is not so easy to solve because the public has some

definitely bad conceptions about management. The surveys show that employees and the public fear that unregulated management will result in:

- (a) Insecurity of employment
- (b) Wage exploitation
- (c) Ignoring employees as "part of the team."

There have been many hurried diagnoses of this economic ailment. Some, not going too deeply, are sure it is caused by the virus of Communism; others are sure that liberalism in this country has backfired. It hasn't. The people in this country are sound liberals, and that's the best assurance we have for the future.

Liberalism came into being originally around the opposition to too much political power. So, about a decade ago, we became disturbed because we saw the people giving more, not less, power to government, and we thought that was a break with traditional liberalism.

It did not mean that at all. It

* Executive Vice-President, National Association of Manufacturers. Condensed from an address before the War Congress of American Industry, December, 1942. Used with permission.

meant that the public is very hard-headed in its liberalism; that it recognized new conditions, and had come to fear power in the hands of large aggregations of capital more than it feared power in the hands of government.

However, it seeks only a balance of power. It wants neither a dictatorship of the proletariat nor a dictatorship of bureaucrats. It desires to retain the final control in the hands of the individual, and it intends to release to the government, to industry, and to labor unions only as much of its power as will be used wisely in its behalf.

If this is a true picture, the social revolution of the last decade is seen in much better perspective.

During that decade the power given to the Federal Government and the unions was intended to offset what the public thought was too much power in the hands of capitalists. The depression had inspired the belief that economic power had become greater than economic leadership.

Now the public has begun to suspect that many of these powers newly delegated to government and labor are not being exercised in behalf of the general welfare either. That's the explanation of the public reaction that we're witnessing today.

To crystallize that trend, to demonstrate that national progress still depends upon leaving economic initiative in private hands, is our job.

There are several theoretical solutions to the problem.

One, fortunately advanced only by a small percentage of defeatists within the ranks of industry, is simply to wait until politicians abuse the authority they are granted, and then the pendulum will swing back. This swing is on now, but free enterprise is liable to be modified beyond recognition before it swings far enough.

A second plan, subscribed to by a much larger proportion of industry, is to seek political changes. I do not want to disparage this method, for political interest, irrespective of party, is a wholesome necessity for businessmen as good citizens. If you don't like the way things are being done, get into political life and reconstruct rather than criticize. But changes in the political situation will not solve the problem if the public still believes that the economic initiative must be taken by government.

Effective Solution

The only solution that promises a permanent remedy is the direct one of convincing the public that enlightened private enterprise will exercise its economic power with such a sense of social responsibility that a policeman need not be placed in every office. That is our second important deduction. To act upon it, we need not adopt the class-warfare tactics of promising special groups more benefits than they have been

promised by our competitors for public favor.

We now know that labor does not vote as a unit; that farmers, Negroes, potential pensioners, and other so-called voting blocs think of themselves first as individual Americans and second as members of a particular "class." We know that the farm groups particularly have discovered the high price of subsidies. We know that the opinions of all classes are based quite as much on a concern for national welfare as upon any hope of selfish benefit and that no leadership can hope for public endorsement unless it demonstrates a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the less fortunate in America. It is not promises, therefore, but motives that gain public credit.

Tests of Management

The public tests industrial management today by three questions. The first is: Are your motives primarily unselfish? Then, second, Will your motives be put to work? In other words, Have you a concrete program, with the desire, the energy, the imagination, the leadership to carry it out? The answer must be "yes" before the public will get around to applying its third test: Can you administer that program efficiently? Therefore, we must be prepared to meet the three tests:

Good Motives

Positive Leadership

Efficient Administration

Good Motives

Industry has made the error of assuming that its accomplishments in raising living standards of this nation would speak louder than the politician's promises. That is not the case, not so long as the public believes that these accomplishments were unavoidable by-products of our industrial civilization.

Let me illustrate. When we learn that 81 per cent of the American workers think that industry pays its employees as little as possible, the answer that American workers are the highest paid in the world is true but not adequate. The public responds: "So what? Apparently it comes despite your efforts, not because of them. Let's have a wage-and-hour law."

When we find that 68 per cent of the public think industry seeks to maintain prices, not to lower them, we must realize that it is no answer to point to a declining price curve. The public wants to know what we tried to do as well as what happened.

When the public maintains, as it does, that big companies try to squeeze smaller outfits out of business, it does little good to point out that statistics prove it hasn't happened. "Did you try to do it?" is the crucial question.

The public believes that management takes a completely impersonal attitude toward employees; pays
(Continued on page 35)

Is Betting Manly or Mean?

By Robert E. Speer

THE man who gambles either loses or wins. If he loses he is spending money in a wrong and immoral way. He gets nothing for it. He accomplishes nothing with it. It is a sheer waste, serving no purpose and doing no good. Money is stored personality. There is human blood in it, coined in the silver and pressed out in the paper. All money is the price of life. To waste it is like drawing lifeblood and flinging it on the ground. And often the money lost is not the man's own. Most students in school and college gamble with money that is not theirs for such use but which fathers and mothers are sacrificing to provide. The soldier who gambles is squandering money that taxpayers are sweating blood to supply and that ought to go to his people at home. And even when the money lost is a man's own, its waste is wicked in a world like ours full of suffering and starvation and need.

But if losing money by gambling is wrong and immoral, gaining money by betting is more so. Phillips Brooks urged this. "Money," he said, "is to pass from man to man only as the symbol of some exertion, some worthy outputting of strength and life. Save in the way of charity, it is not to be given or taken without something behind it which it repre-

sents. . . . To carry in your pocket money which has become yours by no use of your manly powers, which has ceased to be another's by no willing acceptance on his part of its equivalent—that is a degrading thing."

"But," replies the man who bets, "it is not for the money I bet. I don't care for the money that may be won. The fact that I take my chance of losing shows that the money at stake is not the chief thing." But why then do you bet for money? Why not bet your money against marbles or buttons? That would show distinctly your disregard and contempt for the money element and surely would give your betting a "manlier" air. What is it for which you bet if not for the money that may be won? "Oh," says the man who bets, "it is for the interest and excitement of the thing." But what makes it exciting? It is the fact that you stand to win or to lose money. If it is the "excitement" that you want, would you not get more of it, and of an intenser sort, if you would bet your dollars against marbles or buttons or match stems? For then if you won, you would win nothing and if you lost, you would lose everything.

And why, if men do not bet for the money that may be won, do they

refrain from betting when they think they will lose, or if the chances are unfavorable, demand odds in their betting, or exhibit so much greater freedom and boldness when they think they are sure of winning?

"Well," replies the man who bets, "of course, the money element is in it, but that is only to make it real and manly and sportsmanlike. The real reason for betting is to back up one's side or to support one's opinion." But "one's side" is not made one whit stronger by betting on it and one's opinion is not validated one straw's worth by a gambler's bravado.

All gambling and betting of this sort is silly and, worse than silly, it is degrading. It kills all honorable and knightly instincts. When President Garfield was shot and his life was hanging in the balance, gamblers sold pools upon the issue and some men did not scorn to win money from his death. Walpole "tells of a gambler who fell on the table in a fit of apoplexy and his companions began to bet upon the chances of his recovery. When the physician came in they would not let him bleed the man because they said it would affect the bet."

As for the contention that betting money is sportsmanlike, the very reverse is true. There can be no whole-hearted love of sport when there is betting. Sport itself ceases to be of interest to the man who has staked money on the issue. When men stake

money, they are too often willing to do dishonorable things to shape the result so that they will win. Betting is the deadly foe of true sport. The introduction of money is fatal.

During the Persian wars, though bribery and corruption were common, the Greeks kept the games pure. Men strove for the glory of victory and the chaplet of olive leaves. "Heavens! Mardonius," exclaimed one of the Persians before the Battle of Salamis, when he learned about the prizes, "what sort of men have you brought us to fight against, who strive not for money but for honor?"

In every bet both men are sharers in wrongdoing, for the man who loses spends his money immorally and the man who wins gains his with greater immorality. But further than this, betting is vile because it rests on the assumption that the man who bets knows more than his partner to the wager or that his opinion is better. Suppose that he *does* know more and that his opinion *is* better. Then he is acting meanly in taking advantage of a more ignorant man with the purpose of making money out of his ignorance. "Well," it is said, "the other man is willing. He goes in with his eyes open and takes his chances." Yes, but what chance does he take other than the certainty of losing if you know more than he does, and wherein does this make it a worth-while business to win money from his ignorance?

But suppose the man who bets

does not know more than the man with whom he bets, and this, of course, men will say will be the case among "gentlemen." "We would not bet on a sure thing or where we know we would win," they say; "that would not be honorable and square." But as a matter of fact, this is just the kind of betting most men prefer. Almost no man bets when he knows he will lose. Men bet when they think or hope they will win. And just because they do, John Ruskin denounced betting as the vilest and most ungentlemanly of habits. "You concentrate your interest upon a matter of chance," he wrote; "you back opinions . . . simply because they are your own. All the insolence of egotism is in this. . . . You turn yourself into the basest sort of tradesman—one who lives by speculation."

Scarcely any vice works more disastrously in devastating character than the vice of betting. It enamors men of the idea of getting something for nothing. It fosters lying and bluff. It begets crime. Mr. Nixon, once Attorney General of Victoria, said of Australia: "Betting and gambling among us have assumed proportions that threaten us socially . . . the springs of upright industry are weakened by the vague hopes of possible gains. . . . I can confidently say from many years' experience in criminal courts and latterly from a special knowledge of public prosecutions that most cases of forgery and embezzlement

among young men are either owing to or at least coincident with habits of betting and gambling." And Marcus Dods writes: "The statistics of suicide prove that betting is responsible for a larger number of cases than drunkenness."

Any attempt to justify gambling and betting, bingo and lotteries, results in a confession of their inherent immorality and evil. A New York tabloid editorial of February 18, 1943, is sufficient illustration. It advocated a national lottery on the grounds that "large numbers of us would have the pleasure of looking forward to getting something for nothing," that attention would be diverted from "the grim activities of the war," that it would make us forgetful of our heavy civilian duties, and that the moral issue is not different from the gambling of "the very existence of our country as an independent nation" or "the gambling of the lives of our sons in this war." It would be hard to conceive how effrontery and moral confusion could go farther than this. Every healthy moral instinct must revolt against a practice that puts forth such a defense.

"Betting," wrote Charles Kingsley to one of his sons at school, "is the way of the world. So are all the seven deadly sins under whatever rules and pretty names; but to the Devil they lead, if indulged in, in spite of the wise world and its ways."

Charter for a New America

*By Max Lerner **

Social security, broadly conceived, has figured prominently in the Beveridge Report of Great Britain and the Report of the National Resources Planning Board to the President. There is strong evidence of the widespread interest in the areas covered by these reports, and they are destined to be the nucleus of discussions centering on postwar social reconstruction. The following article is a survey of the American report just recently released.

THE President's "Job-and-Security Plan" is in the form of a report from the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) to President Roosevelt, which the President has in turn submitted to Congress. Thus far no legislation embodying the recommendations of the report has been submitted to Congress. The whole thing is still in what might seem an academic stage. Yet in its potentials it is far from academic.

I

The report contains political dynamite that could blast the log jam that is today the domestic New Deal program. It contains a whole armory of economic weapons that can be used in the "postwar period." I put quotes around the term because on one front there must always be war and there can never be an armistice—the war against destitution and insecurity, and against the blight and corrosion of the moral and creative faculties that proceed from them.

It is revolutionary because it is the product of that conscious forethought about the future that is the essence of planning, and because its planning is more comprehensive than we have ever thus far had from a non-socialist governmental body.

It may fail of adoption: that depends on the American people, upon their courage and clarity and their sense of greatness. But even if it fails this time, the fact that it has been drawn up and presented as an administration proposal is itself an event.

II

The report is a charter for a postwar America. It falls roughly into two broad divisions. One is a program for postwar social security. The other is a program for a postwar economic structure. The first places a floor under the economic fortunes of the individual and the family below which they cannot fall. The second forms the scaffolding for further social construction and aims to give the American people what deeply and traditionally they want far more than charity—a chance at a job, a

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creative chance to show what each person has in him, a chance to be free from crushing monopolies and from the dark shadow of concentrated economic power that forms a state within a state.

But it is worth emphasizing that, despite its scope and despite its assumption that public aid and Government assistance and control in industry are long-term needs, this is a postwar program primarily. Its social-security section is geared to the needs of the returning soldier and his family. Its economic-control section is geared to the needs of demobilizing a war economy and converting it from wartime to peacetime uses.

This too is new. We have fought many wars in the past. But we have never before planned a postwar economy.

There is every reason why we should. The returning soldiers will want it. The Division of Special Services of the Army, under General Osborn, has conducted careful polls among the American soldiers to find out what they are thinking about. The Army polls show that most soldiers ask two questions: What are our war aims? Will we have jobs when we come back?

You will notice that one question is what we call "spiritual" or "idealistic," and that the other is "materialistic." And by asking both the soldiers show that their innate good sense goes beyond rhetoric and phi-

losophy. There is no basic clash here: there is in fact, as in all questions of mind and matter, an organic unity. Each is a phase of the other. When a man dies or kills he wants it to be for something important, and what is more important than the work that sustains life and values that give life its meaning?

We made a searing mistake after the First World War. We blindfolded our eyes and walked backward into the future. We did not understand that the future is not there ready-made for us to walk into, that it must first be created with the same straining for mastery by which victory in war is won. We did not understand that wars are not over until the social tensions out of which they arise have been resolved. Hence all that we won was a twenty-year armistice.

The interwar period was the blackest in American history since the chaotic reconstruction days that followed the Civil War. No effort was made to ease the shock of demobilization by the techniques of transition. It was like plunging from a scalding bath into an icy pool. There was no planned supervision of the process of reconversion of industry. There was no control of the making of either capital goods or consumers' goods. Labor standards fell, and the labor movement was dealt a blow from which it did not recover for fifteen years.

I do not say that the techniques

of control developed during the war were wholly and forever gone. They were left as a residue in our national memory—to be reinvoked by President Roosevelt when he came into office in the dire time of depression. Meanwhile a decade and a half were lost, and we had to start again under far greater difficulties because of the interval of chaos, the drastic reduction of national income and capital goods, and the whittling away of democratic confidence that had been accomplished by the years of insecurity.

The soldiers and their families do not know this articulately and in detail. But they know it in their own way, by an intuition that pierces to the heart of historical scholarship.

III

The part of the NRPB that can most easily be dramatized is the part dealing with social security—with long-range work and relief policies. As a report it is dry and matter-of-fact, no doubt deliberately so. It lacks the political and philosophic sweep of the Beveridge Report. Yet in its proposals it can stand up against its British counterpart pretty well. I say it can be most easily dramatized because the idea of social security—"from cradle to grave," as Beveridge put it—is a simple idea, without subtleties and with a deep appeal to the craving for security. What it amounts to is the social-service state.

This part of the plan falls easily into three sections with three aims. One is "jobs for all"—and if private enterprise cannot provide them, then the guarantee of them by Governmental work programs. The second is continuity of income through the social insurances—disability insurance, unemployment compensation, and old-age and survivors' insurance. The third is "public assistance" of a comprehensive and miscellaneous character—medical care and public health, employment exchanges and training services, free school lunches for all children, and a guarantee (through Federal aid) of educational opportunities for all regardless of income.

The fiscal parts of the plan provide a division of burden between the state and Federal Governments, with the assumption of ultimate responsibility by the Federal Government.

The economic portion of the plan is couched in terms of demobilization of the economy—demobilization of the three aspects of it: men, machines, and controls.

I can best convey the gist of it by a rapid summary of its principal proposals: a dismissal wage for soldiers and for factory workers; Government supervision of the process of industrial reconversion to peacetime uses; the continuation of some war plants and war contracts; Government grants for plant rehabilitation;

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Ceremony of the Soil

A SERVICE OF DEDICATION

*By Howard and Alice Kester **

THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY EARTH is a Christian interpretation of God's commission to man to be the good husbandman of His vineyard. The liturgy seeks to reveal the essential unity of God, the earth, and man and the spiritual laws governing man's relation to the earth.

This ceremony is intended to be used in Churches, schools, conferences, or wherever Christian men and women wish to acknowledge the Lordship of the Eternal God, reclaim their kinship with the Holy Earth, and dedicate themselves to be keepers of the Eternal's Earth.

PARTICIPANTS

READER

FOUR VOICES—The Voice of the Eternal, the Earth, Man, and the Church.

It is highly important that the persons representing the "voices" of the Eternal, the Earth, Man, and the Church read their parts with conviction and clarity. They should be concealed from view if possible.

A CHOIR OR SOLOIST

SETTING

THE EIGHT SYMBOLS. These have definite meanings. The Soil is a symbol of the earth; THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH (fruits, vegetables, coal, iron, et cetera) are symbols of the productiveness of the earth and God's goodness; THE CIRCLE OF EVERGREENS is a symbol of the continuous renewal of life on the earth and of its eternal promises; THE TRIANGLE symbolizes the common trinity of life—God, the earth, and man; THE HOE is the symbol of man's co-operation with God in making the earth fruitful; THE PLUMB LINE is the symbol of God's justice; THE BIBLE symbolizes God's relation to man; THE CROSS symbolizes Christ and the Church.

In preparing for the ceremony a table should be placed in full view of the people. The soil should be spread upon the table and the other symbols carefully arranged about it. In the ACT OF DEDICATION at the close of the service, the people are given an opportunity to receive some of the soil of the Holy Earth as a pledge to be faithful stewards of the earth. It should be handed to them in small envelopes so that it may be scattered on the home garden or field as a symbol of their pledge of stewardship. The ceremony may be strengthened if it is interspersed by appropriate instrumental music and a soloist or small group singing the Rogate or other songs or hymns of rural life.

Reader (addressing the people): Jehovah, our God, has brought us forth "into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in valleys and

* Rev. Howard Kester is the General Secretary of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C. This service of worship was first planned for and used in the program of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Christian Rural Fellowship. Condensed with permission of the authors and the publisher, The Christian Rural Fellowship, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., from whom copies of the complete service may be ordered at \$1.00 a hundred.

hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of olive-trees and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig copper. And thou shalt eat and be full, and thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee." [Deut. 8: 7-10.]

Reader (*prayerfully, standing by the prepared table*): O thou Eternal One, Mightiest of Workmen, in the great beginning thou didst ordain and create the ordered worlds, appointing to each a separate task and to each a glorious purpose in an eternal plan.

People: "O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!" Thou art our Father for thou didst set our feet upon thy Holy Earth. For a helpmate, thou hast given us the blessed soil; for a comrade, the green valleys, the verdant deltas, the everlasting hills. For refuge in time of trouble thou hast given us the quiet solitude of mighty forests; for strength, the power of turbulent streams, the majesty of high mountains, the ceaseless going and coming of the ocean.

Reader: In thy infinite wisdom, O Lord, thou didst intend that a glorious companionship should exist between thy good earth and the sons and daughters of man. The earth hath freely given of her vast treasures and upon its goodness the human family hath grown strong. It hath been the great provider, but we, the crown of thy creation, have become the great destroyers. We have mutilated the earth, and destroyed her balances. We have slashed her lovely garments from mountainside and valley, leaving red gullies where once great autumn unfurled Joseph's coat in a thousand whirling leaves.

People (*prayerfully*): Thou, O God, and not man madest the earth. Enable us to realize, we beseech thee, that our relationship to the earth is a moral one: that to plunder thy Holy Earth and waste its resources is a denial of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Our faithlessness to the earth is today revealed in the hunger, the poverty, the want and wretchedness of our brothers and sisters.

Reader: In the beginning the ancient writer said, "There was not a man to till the ground . . . and the Lord God planted a garden eastward . . . and took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it." [Gen. 2: 5, 8, 15.]

People (*slowly*): "To dress it and to keep it!"

Reader: "To dress it and to keep it": to till it and guard it forever and ever!

People: Surely Thou hast commanded us to be the keepers of the earth, dressers of the trees, friends of the soil, stewards of the Eternal.

Reader: "To dress it and to keep it"—this is the Eternal's mandate to his people.

People: God, the earth, man—these are the common trinity of life.

First Voice: I AM THE VOICE OF THE EARTH. Let the people hear and let the earth rejoice.

I am the earth, thy dwelling place throughout all the ages.

I am the friend and the servant of the man who faithfully keeps my hills and valleys and protects my mountains and prairies. But I am also the foe of all those who ravage my fields and destroy my forests.

I am the Great Provider and I am the Great Withholder. Those who work with me I make full and those who work against me I turn away empty. I am the voice of all the once-fertile lands made desolate by man's avarice and greed. When you destroy my lands, O man, mark you a grave for your children. For how can you live if I refuse you food and drink? Canst thou create another earth and endow it with life? Thou canst plant a seed in the soil, O man, but thou canst not make it yield the fruit of life. Work with me, in love, O man, and I will help you build the new heaven and the new earth.

Second Voice: I AM THE VOICE OF MAN. Let the people hear and let the earth rejoice.

I am the voice of him who hath conquered and subdued the earth. I am also he who hath been overwhelmed by it. I am the men and women in all ages who have loved and cherished the soil and who know that it is the mother of nations. I am the good husbandman of God's vineyard; the defender of the nation's true greatness; the ancient guardian of the people's earthright. I am the people pleading for bread, beauty, and brotherhood. It is my voice which you hear thundering down the centuries from the plains of Babylon and reaching a mighty halleluiah chorus on a thousand hills, crying, "Save the soil and save the people; comfort my land and comfort my people; build the earth anew and build the new heaven and the new earth!"

Third Voice: I AM THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH. Let the people hear and let the earth rejoice.

In sorrow I confess that I have not always been the good shepherd of my people, nor have I always guarded well the Eternal's vineyard. But these days are forever behind me, for I have given my heart to the Eternal. Through his everlasting mercy I have beheld the glorious vision of the goodly fellowship of free and noble men on a free and holy earth, and my feet have at last trod upon that blessed highroad which leadeth to the City of our God. I lead you now, not as a wanderer upon some strange moor, but as a man who followeth a map and knoweth whither he goeth. Come with me, my children, and I shall lead you to build the foundations of a co-operative and kindly society whose Governor shall be the Eternal God.

Fourth Voice: I AM THE VOICE OF THE ETERNAL. Let the people hear and let the earth rejoice.

The land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven: A land which the Lord, thy God, careth for; the eyes of the Lord, thy God, are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.

And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments to love the Lord, your God, and to serve Him with all your heart, and with all your soul, and all your strength, that I will give you the rain of your land in its season, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy grain, and thy new wine, and thine oil. And I will send grass in thy fields for thy cattle, that thou mayest eat and be full.

Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul. And ye shall teach them to your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way.

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"A Sense of What Is Vital"

*By Cameron P. Hall **

WE CAN be grateful to Dr. Mofatt for a striking phrase in his translation of the letter which Paul wrote to the Philippians: "Enabling you to have a sense of what is vital." Now a sense of what is vital is a keen-edged sword in the hands of the Church as it takes up the problem of the use of liquor. A sign in a hotel room I occupied recently read like this: "Due to war conditions, after September first, room service from the dining room will be discontinued—except for beverages." Because of the war a guest could not have food brought up to his room, but in spite of the war he could command the time of the hotel staff to bring him liquor. There we have our life as a people. Rationing of consumer goods here today, there tomorrow, over there the next day; but the liquor trade the same yesterday, today, and apparently throughout the duration. What a commentary on our sense of what is vital!

In any discussion of liquor the easy inclination is to conjure up before our minds someone in the gutter dead drunk and to make him our "Exhibit A." Certainly, I could do that with all the vividness of first-hand experience. Paul Revere's

ride, which shook the stillness of a colonial New England night, was more history-making but hardly more breath-taking than my ride in a taxi with the father of one of my Church families who was in a state of delirium tremens. It seemed endlessly long before we reached Bellevue Hospital where the patient was hurried into a padded cell in the alcoholic ward.

If that were everything there is to liquor, the decision against it would be relatively easy. But it isn't. There is the man who gets drunk, and yet is not a drunkard; there is the woman who takes a cocktail, and also goes to Church. In short, there is moderate drinking. Just as the question, "Well, do you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" seems to freeze the race question in the status quo for many, so the presence of moderation in drinking seems to many to put to rout those who oppose it.

Let us agree therefore to begin not with the repulsive worst but with the attractive best that John Barleycorn has to put forward in self-justification—moderate drinking. What may be said about that?

We come into a head-on collision with the moderate drinker when we recall that he indulges in the escapism that moves any man to drink.

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Drinking is the effort to resolve personal problems by resort to a non-personal device. Instead of meeting life's situations with will power, understanding, faith, and imagination, the moderate drinker seeks release from his difficulties through the use of alcohol. He relinquishes selfhood in favor of thinghood. And although the escape is not so complete as that of the drunkard, the element of escapism is the same.

Again, if a person is going to drink and then drive a car or operate a machine, he had better drink immediately so that he won't be able to drive! Alcohol slows up a man's capacity for the triggerlike decisions that our mechanized civilization force upon us. The heavy drinker is a social menace in any civilization, but the moderate drinker is particularly dangerous in ours, for he either doesn't know or won't admit his incapacity to handle himself in a machine-gearred environment. On a modern Jerusalem to Jericho highway, the man who declares he is "not too drunk to drive" is the thief who robs others of life and limb.

Again, drinking can never be rightly considered solely as an individual matter. The moderate drinker becomes a supporter of the liquor traffic—a traffic which is a destructive force in social life. Without his support the liquor industry would shrink to much less menacing proportions. Control and the regulation of the liquor traffic would be

simpler and less costly; beckoning opportunities to indulge his thirst would not beset a man on every side as they now do; and in consequence there would be a lesser number of "problem drinkers."

No, moderation is not enough. Moderation at its best is but a small wayside inn where a few draw aside to stay indefinitely, while the traffic stream rushes past; at worst moderation is a receding point that soon disappears, or a point to which the confirmed alcoholic struggles to return through blood and agony and tears—of his home and family most often.

For it is moderation, plus something else, that makes liquor the greatest cause of venereal infection by breaking down natural reserves and controls. Who do you think said this: "The more liquor, the more syphilis." A reformer? A preacher? The W. C. T. U.? No! The New York State Liquor Board said that!

It is moderation, plus something else, that makes liquor a breeder of disease. The Surgeon General of the United States has publicly stated that "alcohol is a major cause of insanity, and poisoning from alcohol is the cause of more deaths than many dreaded infectious diseases."

It is moderation, plus something else, that makes liquor a factor in one out of every four felonies ("crimes," to the layman) in this country, according to FBI figures.

All of which adds up to this: Neither moderation as a theory, fine

as it is, nor the number of moderate drinkers, worthy as they otherwise are, is a broad enough base on which to form a sense of what is vital in relation to the use of liquor. Liquor thrusts upon us problems—economic, social, moral, and spiritual—too demanding of our concern to be passed over because of the personal inclinations of those who are favored with sufficient character to stay within the limits of moderation. We must face this challenge in terms of what liquor does and not of what moderation is. As well try to build a pyramid on its apex as to build an attitude toward drinking and a strategy toward the liquor traffic in terms of the pleasantries of "a drink every now and then." The tears of homes, the wards of alcoholics, the cells of prisoners, the ravages of infection break through the thin veneer of moderation and show liquor for what it is.

There is some talk of "prohibition for the duration" and much opposition to it. There may be reasons against the prohibition of liquor for the duration or rationing, as we call it in wartime; but those reasons can no longer be the old ones about "interference with personal liberty" or "invasion of personal rights." Card "A" on the windshield of your automobile or your ration book for meat or canned goods or sugar is the answer to that. In the light of what has been happening to other consumer commodities, those who would

keep the flow of liquor unstopped are on the defensive. Certainly there is no reason why liquor should be on a "drink as usual" basis—surely a sense of what is vital warns us to rid ourselves of this menace to spiritual freedom.

Let us put a stop now to the art of falsification that we euphoniously call "liquor advertising." If we must advertise our alcohol wares, let us be aboveboard! Instead of bedecking them with some romance from the past, let us write on our whisky ads: "The Commandant of the Lockburne Air Base says: 'In our business of teaching young men to fly, liquor is just as bad as prostitution!'" Instead of going to a rose garden for a name, let us write in bold letters: "'Fifty per cent of the penal crimes of Massachusetts were liquor causes,' declares Judge Zolotti, of Boston."

As a part of the basic training for the military life, we are told that 60 per cent of the time in our high schools is to be spent in training of body and mind to that end. A discerning sense of what is vital will urgently demand that as we toughen our children for physical combat we arm them against a more insidious foe. In every community and Church a positive program of education in relation to the nature of alcohol and its effect on the individual and on social well-being is imperative of today's war world and tomorrow's world of reconstruction.

Daybreak in Civilian Public Service

*By E. LeRoy Dakin **

DAYBREAK in human life is not so precious as freedom of conscience." In these words Dr. Carl J. Hambro, former president of the Norwegian Parliament, explains why Norwegian Church leaders have refused to obey Nazi emissaries. They have been deposed, sent to concentration camps, and stripped of all their possessions. But they have kept a "conscience void of offence toward God."

Freedom of conscience is basic to every freedom for which our President says this global war is being fought. It was to secure for themselves this freedom that the Mayflower pioneers dared many perils and builded new homes in this land.

We are mainly indebted to the historic peace Churches—the Friends, Brethren, and Mennonites—for the establishment and maintenance of the nearly one hundred Civilian Public Service Units now operating through which the young men who are conscientious objectors to war, whatever their Church connection, can find increasing opportunity to render constructive human service.

From the beginning many of these young men have felt that the work to which they have been assigned

could only by a long stretch of the imagination be called "work of national importance." Knowing the plight of the peoples subjected to the horrors of war, they wanted to minister to human need. They prayed and pleaded for a chance to alleviate human distress. To be working on soil conservation and reforestation projects when multitudes needed sympathy and helpful service was too much for them to endure quietly.

Meanwhile, their responsible leaders were praying and prospecting for open doors of significant human service and in due time there came the chance to serve in the now widely publicized medical experiments that promised the saving of many human lives. And always there were more volunteers than could be taken. Since then more than 800 men have found opportunity to serve in mental hospitals where the superintendents say they have changed the whole atmosphere of their institutions, gradually developing therapeutic techniques of control.

A military investigator from Selective Service hearing this commendation was curious to see just what sort of work these young men were doing. After seeing them at work he said, "Believe me, if I had to choose between doing what these fellows do and going to the African

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front, I'd go to Africa in a hurry." There will likely be 2,000 or more men in this field of service before the end of the year.

The two dozen men serving in juvenile reformatories will soon be multiplied severalfold. A score of men have been serving for many months in the hookworm and malaria area; volunteers are now being recruited for cancer research and other medical and nutritional experiments; within a year 1,500 men will be in various types of food production or working on experimental or dairy farms, and three- or four-score more will hazard their lives as parachute fire fighters, protecting the priceless forests of our Western states and Alaska.

None of these opportunities for needed human service would ever have been opened to these young men if they had been under military control, as is the case in Canada.

And now the morning breaks. We are beginning to move from starlight to sunlight. At the urgent request of men in Civilian Public Service, their leaders have sought for them openings for overseas service in the world's most distressed areas. For some months 11 men have been blazing a trail for sanitary reconstruction in Puerto Rico. Governor Tugwell and other officials were present at the dedication of a newly completed hospital and the Puerto Rican Government contributed \$4,000 for the extension of the work. The fine

spirit and service of these men have fully vindicated the merit of the project, both to Civilian Public Service leaders and to the Puerto Rican Government. We are able now to increase the number of workers to 100, and the men will be the pioneers of a new order of human living in one of the plague spots of the world.

Now, we are off to China! At last, after months of entreaty, thanks largely to the visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we are to send a unit of 70 men to China. John Rich, a representative of the Friends, has flown to China to work out with the Chinese Government the details as to the nature and location of this work. Meantime the men are being selected from properly equipped volunteers. They will be given several months of the most careful training. They will constitute the commando battalion of a new order of warfare—warfare against disease, destroyed homes, and scorched earth. Theirs will be a glorious ministry of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and the relief of hungry and homeless mothers and children. They will be ambassadors of understanding and good will, serving under the leadership of the Friends Service Committee.

Every Christian in America will rejoice in this opening and breathe a prayer for those who shall serve in this exacting task.

While these projects are going on
(Continued on page 33)

For Time

Detroit Setting General Assembly meets in Detroit, a city which in many ways is vibrant with the tensions and possibilities of modern life. It has some 400,000 people who were not living there eighteen months ago. It is good for General Assembly to meet there, for Detroit but epitomizes the nation and indeed the world; and General Assembly is the representative body of a Church that is both nation- and world-wide. Presbyterian Churches everywhere are meeting in varying degrees the issues that are sharply focused and heavily concentrated in this host city: The social disorganization of the wartime community, the threats to democracy, the status of minorities, the tensions in economic relationships, and the impending challenge of postwar adjustments. Of these General Assembly must be aware, and upon these General Assembly must strive to give light.

This it will have many opportunities to do, but peculiarly so in the forenoon of May 31 when it acts upon the report of its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action. For in truth the General Assembly is part of the Christian Church called Presbyterian, U.S.A., and while it meets in Detroit, it is not of Detroit (nor of wherever "Detroit" is in other communities), but it is "of the city of . . . God." The commissioners to General Assembly, therefore, have the responsibility of relating with emphasis and courage the eternal truths of the Gospel—the sovereignty of God, the centrality of Christ, the supremacy of righteousness, the high calling of the Kingdom of God—to the living issues which stand out in bold relief in Detroit, but which everywhere form the topography of the social order.

Disciplines of Peace Within recent weeks, in both Great Britain and the United States, statesmen have become growingly outspoken and active concerning matters of postwar significance. The Church has been similarly active. On another page, John Foster Dulles introduces to the readers of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* the Political Propositions that come from the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, whose chairman he is. These Propositions are the immediate implementation of the Guiding Principles, first adopted by the Delaware Conference, in March, 1942, and by the Federal Council of Churches in biennial session last December.

Perhaps the great value of these Propositions is that they are "middle axioms," a term that Henry P. Van Dusen has used to describe "propositions midway between broad general goals, which are likely to claim ready

ake These

acceptance but may easily be neglected in practice, and concrete plans, which are the province of technical experts." They deserve the most careful and earnest study by individuals and groups, for they lend themselves admirably to action, in that a foreign policy in keeping with their substance and spirit may be urged upon public leaders and officials.

But Christian responsibility goes beyond this. The power of the Christian witness lies not alone, or even chiefly, in an exposition of Christian principles upon which men and nations must build; it is even more a Life stretched upon a Cross in steadfastness and sacrifice for those principles. Hence, Christians must now prepare both themselves and their fellow citizens to accept the costs needed for giving life and reality to these Propositions. To seek such objectives in the delusion that they may be had without an obligation to pay the costs—certainly in a diminished national sovereignty and quite likely in an at least temporarily lowered standard of living—will result in disillusionment as to the validity of the objectives themselves.

Already, there is evidence that we are in that danger. One public leader has declared for internationalism on the part of the United States with no loss of national sovereignty; another is in favor of "co-operation with no commitments"! But this is to "seek peace" and *not* to "pursue it." This is to seek first "all these things" and to expect that the Kingdom of God will be added unto them. Peace-making hath her disciplines and sacrifices; and to these we must give ourselves even as we give ourselves to war.

Labor Gains That organized labor has made vast gains in the last decade is a fact to be noted and welcomed, as also is the fact that thereby it has acquired social power that calls for an increased sense of social responsibility. But it is likewise to be recalled that vast numbers are still outside these gains. The A. F. of L., the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and other unions not affiliated with any of these are estimated to have 11 million members or only 27½% of the 40 million workers that may be considered available for organization. This means that over 70% of American workers are still outside labor unions. Again, Wage and Hour Administrator, L. Metcalf Walling, has reported that 7,500,000 American workers, which represents 19% of the 40 million referred to above, still receive 40 cents an hour or less. And these, Mr. Walling declares, are "right on the edge of the minimum standards of health and decency or below it."

Wartime Service Reporter

Calling Church Volunteers!

*By Edith E. Lowry**

RECENTLY a letter received by the Committee for Volunteer Service of the Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities,¹ said: "This little city is swamped with shipyard workers and other defense workers. We have plenty of Churches and six denominations, Salvation Army, and USO. But we don't seem to get the newcomers to come to Church or co-operate with our Churches. If you have any plans or advice that will help us in this work we will certainly appreciate it."

This letter could have come from any one of the 1,200 or more areas in the United States that have been overwhelmed by the influx of defense workers in the last year. Seventeen and a half million people have changed from one locality to another—some from as far as California to New England and Florida to Washington; others from their home town to another near-by town, often shifting back and forth for week ends. Living in unfamiliar

towns is not easy. Ties with old friends and customs are broken. Old residents are busy and sometimes fearful of what these newcomers may mean to life in their community. Thus barriers develop and one of the most serious social problems is created.

Newcomers long for the warmth of Christian neighborliness. No matter what all other agencies provide in recreation, medical care, or child care, the Church has a unique function. It cannot fail to befriend them and draw them into its fellowship. Great "opportunities are open to Christians today to make faith in God and loyalty to Jesus Christ understandable in our communities. This involves a keener sensitivity to the needs of all people, regardless of race, religion, or economic station in society. It means the building of new personal attitudes toward all individuals and their places in community life, whether these individuals are newcomers or residents of long standing." The Church has new opportunities and many of these can be used only by lay members of a Church working as volunteers.

This is what happened in one community. In it are beautiful homes,

* Executive Secretary, Home Missions Council of North America, New York City.

¹ The Christian Commission represents the Federal Council of Churches, the Home Missions Council of North America, the International Council of Religious Education, the United Council of Church Women, and the General Commission of Army and Navy Chaplains.

two colleges, rich farmland. Because it is off the main railroad line, never before had it been disturbed by new population. But homes, schools, churches, villages, and rich farms were wiped out when nearly 30,000 acres were condemned to build an Ordnance Depot. Townspeople feared for their security, and social problems multiplied as hundreds and thousands of new folk moved in.

The countryside was cluttered with trailers. Every available space in the town was occupied. Some families were sleeping in cars and garages. The Churches sensed their responsibility and were co-operating but were not really reaching the new folk. Finally the Ministerial Association and the Women's Missionary Union set up a joint committee. The Women's Society for Christian Service of the Methodist Church provided a trained worker for interdenominational service, the community caring for her living expenses and the cost of the local program. For four months she worked to interpret the newcomers to the townsfolk and to enlist the help of the committee and other volunteers. The gulf between the two groups was gradually bridged as they came to know each other better and local Churches and organizations began to see possibilities and ways to serve. These are some of the many things that were done:

The young people of a downtown Church

held open house once a week for newcomers.

Church organizations began to appoint new people on committees.

Church women invited new women to the Red Cross nutrition and first-aid classes.

City clubs and organizations began to invite new men and women to join.

The city voted money to fix up a community center.

Incidents were noticed where townspeople spoke up defending new people in ordinary conversations, with a new sensitiveness to fair treatment.

Various civic organizations asked what they could do.

The newspaper editorials and news stories helped to acquaint the community with its newcomers in a wholesome light.

College girls visited trailer camps and arranged for after-school clubs with crafts and recreation and a Saturday program for these "trailer children."

Another type of situation exists in the large city in which the Council of Churches is developing a co-operative program with an interdenominational staff worker provided by the Churches of the community and several denominational workers gearing into the over-all plan. In this particular city the work is just getting under way. Thirty thousand defense workers have moved in, and in addition there are the families in trailer camps on the outskirts. To get things started a well-trained and skillful worker was provided by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society from their Christian Friendliness staff. A large housing project is part of this worker's responsibility. She writes: "I can see

it as a parish with all kinds of interesting problems. In the first place, it will have two hundred housing units, built to accommodate families with children, so we'll have at least two hundred children. Thus far only about forty families have moved in and the youngsters are, with a few exceptions, babies under three years of age. They represent a wide variety of denominations and two racial divisions. Two Negro families are in, one a man and wife and six-months-old baby. The mother has had one year in New York University and is a charming person. Already there is resentment in the homes near the project, so my visitation is going to take me there too, to see if I can help them to understand her side of things.

"We are hoping to form a newcomers' club with the idea of having them meet members of their own denominations but all worshiping together. Now we must find the day and a way of caring for babies. Anybody wanting a job please apply. More and more we are realizing the importance of the Church going to the people."

Still another situation, near a military area: In dormitories near the camp are 650 girls training to be radio technicians, and not many miles away are from two to three thousand other girls. This is in a Northern state and many of the girls are from the South. In a town near by is a well-organized council of

Church women representing Jew, Catholic, and Protestant.

The Church worker reports that "these women have started a *Sojourners' Club* at the Presbyterian Church where the girls may come one night a week and prepare their evening meal. As soon as the weather is warmer, the Woman's Council plans to give a tea on a Sunday afternoon at the Methodist Church, to which 600 girls (Jew, Catholic, and Protestant) will be invited. After the Church women meet the girls at tea, we feel many of them will be asked to share the hospitality of the homes of the older residents."

In reviewing the experiences described in these three different situations several important principles are clear:

1. *The interdenominational approach is the most effective.*
2. *Preparation of volunteers for the most effective service is essential.*
3. *There is great potential leadership within the newcomers' group.*
4. *The type of activities to be developed should be determined by needs discovered through the home visitation program.*
5. *The schedule of activities must be flexible to serve those working on Sundays or night shifts.*
6. *The activities of the Church should supplement rather than duplicate the work of other local agencies.*

Additional thousands of volunteer Christians are needed.²

² For the *Guide for Volunteers* (price, 15 cents) or for further information, write: Inter-Church Committee for Volunteer Service in Defense Areas, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Daybreak in Civilian Public Service

(Continued from page 27)

a number of our men are at Columbia University giving themselves with vigor to the study of postwar problems and preparing to spend their lives in a ministry designed to heal the hurts of war and bind men together in the bonds of good will.

As the war goes on and the demand for man power grows more urgent increasing pressure is put upon Selective Service to lay hands on these men who for conscience' sake cannot share in war, take them out of the care of Church leaders, and give them assignments that would put them under military control. Such a procedure would relieve the Churches of a great financial burden, but it would mean the total loss of all opportunity to enlist these men for human services.

The men in Civilian Public Service and their leaders are of one mind and heart in their determination and their prayers that these opportunities for human service shall not be lost to them.

Many of the leaders of the larger communions not of the pacifist tradition have questioned the original agreement made by the historic peace Churches with Selective Service, but those who have followed from the beginning the development of this whole project are grateful for what was done. In the sunlight of today,

it looks as though what some folks regarded as a mistake they now feel to be the evidence of the blessed management of the heavenly Father.

It may be that the historic peace Churches have come "to the kingdom for such a time as this." Perhaps they have been chosen of God to show all American Protestants how we can carry on frankly and constructively with those within the fellowship of our Churches whose point of view we are able neither to share nor to commend.

We have already moved a long way in that direction. We recognize these men as our brethren, members of the Body of Christ. We propose to stand by them because they are to us a symbol of that freedom of conscience which makes America America. We shall never allow them to be a despised minority. We shall make their support a first charge upon our brotherly good will. In so doing we shall put ourselves where God can use us as Christians, and as Churches, to teach our nation how to deal with minorities in our community life. We shall keep our non-Christian neighbors aware of the fact that every Christian is a free man—free as a child in the family of God.

Above all, we shall demonstrate to the world our conviction as American Christians that for us, as for our Norwegian brethren, "daybreak in human life is not so precious as freedom of conscience."

The Crashing Challenge of Christianity

(Continued from page 6)

Here we touch the very heart of the difficulty of government over alien peoples. The problem of colonial government, which has tormented Europe for over four centuries, never will be solved until we come to realize that the supreme values in the world are human personalities. In Asia today we are experiencing something of the consequences of a colonial policy based upon the old thesis of exploitation and repression. On the other hand, the experience of Great Britain in the Dominions and of the United States in the Philippines throws interesting light on the effects of a contrary policy.

We must seek to eliminate, not necessarily all alien rule, but all alien rule based upon exploitation. The government of alien peoples carries with it distinct responsibilities as well as rights. Primary among these is the obligation to prepare, educate, and strengthen the dependent people to stand alone.

A third fundamental upon which lasting peace must be built is economic freedom. The resources of the earth are amply sufficient for the needs of all peoples. But if the strong and powerful set up political barriers or artificial trade arrangements that effectively cut nations off from the goods and raw materials needed for their factories and from the foreign markets necessary for the sale of their products, obviously men will be robbed of their livelihood and nations will be forced, even against their will, into economic struggle and warfare.

Industrial nations must trade to survive. No serious statesman in this day and generation advocates the complete elimination of all tariff walls. But responsible statesmen do advocate—and, if we are to win the objectives for which the Democracies are fighting, they must insist upon—the elimination after the war of those un-

conscionable trade barriers that inescapably choke the flow of international trade and as a result substantially depress the standard of living of entire peoples. Here, again, we cannot afford to underestimate the difficulties.

Finally, a stable peace depends upon our finding some way to effectuate an international control of armaments. In fact, this is but a phase, albeit one of outstanding importance, of the problem of collective security.

We live in a machine age, and war is waged with mechanized devices. Modern weapons have so basically changed the entire problem of military defense that today no nation can build up an arsenal of heavy armament without vitally threatening the security of every other nation. Armament building has become in the world of fact a matter of the most profound international concern and must henceforth become subject to international supervision and control.

The achievement of international control raises exceedingly complex problems. But these are not insoluble. We must and we will find the way to solve them.

To achieve enduring peace we must build upon these four fundamentals: organized international co-operation, recognition of the supreme value of human personalities and of human rights, economic freedom with equality of trading opportunity for all nations, and an international control and supervision of armament-building.

Today we stand poised at the fork of the road. A new world opens up if we will have it so. If we have the courage to fight for it and the wit to build for it on foundations that are sound and true and Christian, we may enter upon one of the shining and constructive eras of human history. To do so will demand our wisest thought and tireless effort and utter consecration. Under God's guidance let us go forward with wisdom and with faith, and without fear.

Public Opinion and Free Enterprise

(Continued from page 13)

little or no consideration to their viewpoint; has no hesitation at all about throwing them out of work; and, in general, treats labor like any other raw material purchased.

No matter how false a portrait this may be, it is an important one. It illustrates how the worker and the general public symbolize the motives of industrial management. This idea of selfish, unprogressive, socially reluctant management, too widely held throughout the nation, is what industry must now dispel. The best place to start is at home. It starts with the individual manager of each company. It's decidedly a personal affair. People like one another, they like other folk. They are not attracted to a legally organized corporation, too efficient to be friendly.

My plea is to add sentiment to the curriculum of management. It's sentiment, after all, that makes the world go round, rather than percentage figures.

Positive Leadership

"Motives" is the vital purpose with which we must start. The second is leadership. Industry has developed leadership rapidly during the past decade. First there was the "legalistic" period—we thought the attacks "unconstitutional." The Supreme Court took us out of that era. Then we went into the "philosophical"—why private enterprise was better than socialized enterprise. The third stage from which we are just emerging might be termed the "negative leadership" or "industry-doesn't-like-it" era.

We are now entering the most encouraging stage of all—the "what-should-be-done" era. This is a rare opportunity for better economic understanding. The sun of reason is coming up "like thunder . . . 'crost the Bay." The public cocks a friendly ear to what we've got to say.

And what we've got to say must be good. The people want blue-printed leadership

that tells them where to go rather than where not to go. They want positive leadership from management and if industry does not rise to this opportunity the people will turn to some other source.

Charting Our Course

I have no illusions that industry can become overnight the proud father of an aggressive program to cure all of our national ills. Essentially the problem is one of education—one in which we resolve our individualistic ideas by the process of exchange and discussion with other businessmen who think differently.

I know this can be done. But can it be done quickly enough?

Now we are moving toward the next objective—the charting of courses rather than merely protesting. It is more difficult to agree upon a program that will lead to labor union responsibility than it is to agree that they should be made responsible.

Our problem is to speed up this tempo of change through specific leadership. To offer new leadership I'm afraid we're going to have to modify our insistence that industry say nothing that does not command unanimous support. In practice such insistence on unanimity has required the elimination from our pronouncements of every practical suggestion that could challenge public interest.

Unanimity is highly desirable. But in its absence the public cannot follow silence. They'll follow wrong leadership in preference to no leadership.

Effective Administration

There is our challenge! Through a dynamic and effective program we can reconstitute America's faith in the strength of free men and their works. Industry by its deeds must recover the faith of the public in men and women who do things.

We must help the nation to rediscover this touchstone of American progress; for there is no substitute for individual initiative, for individual responsibility, and for a man's pride in his own achievement.

Sanctuary

Memorial Day—1943*

It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. The crisis at which we are arrived may be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made, and a wrong election of the part we shall act may deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

—The Federalist, 1787.

The Invocation:

Almighty God, who bringest light out of darkness, we cry unto thee for the nations now engaged in war, that in waging the same they may be saved from those sins that bring worse evil upon the world and through thy disciplines and judgments so learn truth that they may walk in thy ways and obtain the blessings of thy Kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Appropriate Hymns (*found in The Hymnal*) :

- “God of Our Fathers, Whose Almighty Hand” (Processional).
- “A Mighty Fortress Is Our God” (Martin Luther’s Hymn).
- “O Beautiful for Spacious Skies.”
- “Not Alone for Mighty Empire,”
- “My Country, ‘Tis of Thee.”

The Psalter: Ps. 46.

The Scripture Lesson: Heb. 11: 1-15.

Prayer:

Almighty and most merciful God our Father, we bring unto thee in this time all the concerns of our troubled hearts in a troubled world. We know that from the black sin of all men comes this new crucifixion of Christ. Humbly we lay before thee our confession of the selfishness and greed that has made of the family of nations a family of violence and death. Take from us, O God, all hate and the cruel passions of vengeance. Remove from our hearts all arrogance and vain pride. Accept our penitence, our Father, and give to us thy peace.

We give thee thanks this day for all good things: For all faith in the midst of fear, for all courage in the midst of discouragement, for all strength when our hearts and minds are weak and afraid, for all who with steady hand have helped us to act with dignity, and for all the evidences of abiding truths that shall survive the dangers of this time.

* The following materials are offered for the use of minister or group leader in the preparation of services of remembrance and dedication on Memorial Day in the Church or community.

Do thou bless all those who rule and hold public office. Grant them wisdom from thy wisdom and love from thy love, and enable us to look with sober eyes beyond the turmoil of this hour, that a true peace of justice and mercy may be uppermost in our minds, that our children and our children's children shall not suffer again this needless agony. Grant us courage, give us faith, renew our hope, and forgive our sin, that we shall not shame the Christ whose name we bear.

Into thy hands we commend ourselves and all thy children upon earth, sure in the knowledge that thy way is just and true and that in thy hands the destiny of men is good. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.¹

The Sermon or Address: "Not Vengeance but Reconstruction."²

A Litany of Petition and Dedication:

For our nation: forty-eight states united in peace and harmony,
We thank thee, O Lord.

For the wisdom of our founding fathers who united these states in one government under God,

We thank thee, O Lord.

For the uniting of our world, steeped in anarchy, torn by war,
We ask thy help, O Lord.

For the establishing of law and order in the world that all thy children may live in security and justice, order and peace;

We ask thy help, O Lord.

To know thy will; to do this, thy work;
We dedicate our lives, O Lord.

Moment of Remembrance (*in tribute to our heroic dead*):

In the fullness of God's time, with courage and with vision, the people of the United States can yet secure the future safety of their country and of its free institutions, and help the nations of the earth back into the paths of peace.

Then, on some future Memorial Day, the American people, as they mark the graves of those who died for their country in these last two world wars, can at last truly say: "Sleep on in quiet and in peace; the victory you made it possible for us to win has now been placed at the service of your country."³

Prayer:

God of all, in whom is no near or far, we remember with gratitude all those who have laid their lives on the altar of freedom and justice. We commend to thy keeping those dear to us but now absent from us in the service of our country and the world. Sustain them by thy protecting care. Preserve them from every harm both of body and soul. Make them, and us, worthy of the victory we seek. Amen.

¹ David Braun, Minister, Swarthmore Presbyterian Church, Swarthmore, Pa.

² Articles on pages 4 and 7 of this issue provide helpful background for the address.

³ Honorable Sumner Welles, Undersecretary of State, at Arlington, Memorial Day, 1942.

The Workshop

From Church Calendars. On February 14, in Brotherhood Week, Westminster Church, Detroit, carried the following announcement: "A Scripture-reading plan has been adopted by our Jewish friends whereby all of that faith read the same chapters every day. Our session recommends that we join in reading with them every day. This can be a great spiritual experience for every one of us. The readings for this week are . . ." Third Church, Rochester, carried a message from its session under the title "In the Line of a Good Conscience." Following upon several paragraphs of explanation of the situation of Presbyterians in Civilian Public Service, the message concluded: "The session of Third Church, therefore, has voted to inaugurate a fund to which interested persons in our congregation can contribute. Money may be paid into the Church Office earmarked for the purpose of doing our part in relieving the condition above described. It may be paid in whole or on a monthly basis. It will be accumulated and then forwarded through the Office of the General Assembly, which has set up an account for this cause. The session hopes that there may be an immediate and generous response."

Housing and Juvenile Delinquency. In the city of Fort Wayne, Indiana, there is rather a large village built under the Federal Housing Authority within a district largely inhabited by a foreign element and Negroes. Since the rate of delinquency in this neighborhood was very high, there was a definite need for social work of some kind. The pastor of the Westfield Presbyterian Church was a member of the board of directors of the branch Y.M.C.A. already operating there. At his instigation the secretaries of Social Education and Action of the six Presbyterian Churches of the city became interested. In

co-operation with a chapter of Tri Kappa, the local FHA board, and members of the Y.M.C.A. board, they founded an organization known as the West Side Community Center, and employed a full-time worker.

To date the project has consisted of recreational and character-building programs among the girls and women, nutrition and first-aid classes, a nursery school conducted three mornings a week, a Vacation Bible School held for two weeks in June, and joint meetings for high-school boys and girls. There is also, naturally, individual counseling and a fine case-work committee to investigate special problems as they arise and refer them to the proper authorities among the Community Chest agencies. The Activities Committee is at the present time attempting to arrange a program of self-help among the defense workers who need full-time care for their children and those mothers at home who would like part-time work with some compensation.

The Social Education and Action secretaries and other women in the Churches are actively participating in the work, leading programs, assisting in the nursery school, and teaching daily during Bible School. We are very much interested in our work and feel we are making progress even though slowly. *Reported by Mrs. B. H. Magley, Secretary of Social Education and Action for Fort Wayne Presbyterial.*

Jury Duty. The Chairman of Social Education and Action of Chicago Presbytery sent the following message to the members of presbytery and presbyterial: "The U. S. District Court in the Old Post Office Building, has asked us for a list of citizens of experience and good character, regardless of race, color, or creed, both men and women between the ages of 21 and 65 qualified for jury duty. . . . Here is a real opportunity to render a specific serv-

ice in one of the basic institutions of our democracy—the courts of justice."

World Order Conference. The Presbyterian Theological Seminary, at San Anselmo, California, was host to a conference on A Just and Durable Peace, sponsored by the Presbyteries of San Francisco and Redwoods, on March 3. The response was encouraging, bringing together both ministers and laity. The morning session included the themes "The Christian Principles—What Are They?" and "The Proposals of Anglicans and Roman Catholics," with Dr. John H. Crichton, of San Francisco, and Bishop Edward L. Parsons, respectively as speakers. The afternoon sessions were concerned with "The Proposals of the Federal and World Councils of Churches," with Professor John S. Bennett, of the Pacific School of Religion, as speaker, and a general forum on "Conclusions and Findings" led by Professor Lynn T. White, of the seminary.

A Full Program. Much of the work this year in St. Louis Presbyterial has been educational. Among the activities reported are the following:

In June Rev. Kenneth E. Heim, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Ferguson, Missouri, spoke to us on the subject "Looking to a Just Peace." He gave a comprehensive study of the findings of the Delaware Conference. The devotional message emphasized the all-inclusiveness of the social gospel, as practiced by the early disciples.

Rabbi Ferdinand Isserman, of Temple Israel, was the able speaker at our January meeting, using as his theme "If I Could Write the Peace Treaty."

Eight copies of SOCIAL PROGRESS are circulated each month in the Circles for reading and study; thus we are acquainting our members with the issues so vital in the life of our day.

Through the presbyterial we contributed to the Christmas cheer for the Japanese in

the relocation camp at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, and gave \$15 for China relief.

The Wartime Service Commission at Kingshighway put much thought and time into the preparation of Christmas parcels for our own men in the armed forces.

Attention was given to legislation, both local and national, which affects vitally the life of our community.

Dr. Swaim, through his series of six Church-night addresses with the theme "The Churches and the War," his review of the current book *The Problems of Lasting Peace*, by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson, and his timely, all-embracing Brotherhood Day sermon "The Philadelphia Ideal," has made a lasting contribution to our education for social world service.

We have had a part in the Wartime Service Fund of the Presbyterian Church.

The young people visited the African M. E. young people's group and later the young people were guests in our Church.

On four different occasions we entertained Japanese students. One Sunday evening five of our guests participated in a panel discussion on the problems of "Americans with Japanese Faces."

Groups of soldiers in training at the Ranken Trades School were entertained at buffet supper and later attended the worship service every Sunday evening for four months.

In November the three young people's groups drove to Jefferson Barracks and conducted a worship service in the camp chapel for the soldiers. This was repeated at Christmas time.

On November 18 and 19 a series of meetings concerning the "Church and the World of Tomorrow" was held in St. Louis under the auspices of the Metropolitan Church Federation. Two interracial services have also been held in all of which Kingshighway co-operated wonderfully in attendance and interest. *Reported by Addie C. Collins, Secretary for Social Education and Action, St. Louis Presbyterial.*

Study and Action

***Prayers for Private Devotions in Wartime**, edited by Dean Willard L. Sperry, Harvard University. Harpers. Single copy, 75 cents; 100 or more, 60 cents each.

Prayers Personal and Social, by James Myers. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 15 cents.

***Community Clinic**, by Wilbur La Roe, Jr. A clinical examination of four threats to community welfare: liquor, gambling, prostitution, political corruption; and proposals for community reconstruction. Just off the press. 25 cents.

Race Against Humanity, by Charles S. Johnson, and **Moral Goals for Modern Youth**, by Eleanor T. Glueck. Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 15 cents each.

The United Nations and the Organization of Peace Third Report. Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. Single copies, free; \$2.50 per 100.

The Reciprocal Trade Program. Pro and Con Series of Brief Study Guides. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N.Y. 10 cents.

After the War?—Postwar Planning, by Maxwell S. Stewart, and **Workers and Bosses Are Human—Collective Bargaining at Work**, by T. R. Carskadon. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10 cents.

Memorandum on the Beveridge Report. National Policy Committee, National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 25 cents.

*Order from any Presbyterian Book Store.

Ceremony of the Soil (continued from page 22)

ACT OF DEDICATION

Reader (*placing his hand upon the soil*): This is a portion of the earth—her soil. It is our responsibility as faithful Christians to build on this earth the Kingdom of God. The earth's children will become the heirs of bread, brotherhood, and beauty as they keep faith with the ancient mandates of the Eternal, and become in truth and in spirit the keepers of the Holy Earth.

People: By the help of the Eternal God, our Father, we pledge ourselves this day to become the keepers of this earth, our home and dwelling place in all ages.

Reader: And now as a token of our dedication to the responsibilities of a keeper of the Eternal's earth, let us each take a portion of this soil and use it as a reminder of our solemn obligations to our God, the earth, and man.

Reader (*as the people come forward*): "And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it."

The Doxology (*when the people have returned to their places*). •

Benediction: May the Lord bless you and multiply your company and lead you ever onward in his service. May the Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace. Amen.

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Charter for a New America

(Continued from page 19)

a new RFC or a Federal Development Corporation for stimulating investment in basic industries; low-interest loans to small business concerns needing capital; Government research for new processes out of which may come new industries; the opening of channels of investment opportunity, by Governmental intervention where necessary; the temporary retention after the war of many of the war economic controls, including the allocation of scarce raw materials, priorities on construction goods, the rationing of consumers' goods, especially durable ones, and the price controls to avoid a postwar inflation; the expansion of peacetime-goods production; the guarding of labor standards and the strict enforcement of protective labor legislation and collective bargaining; the retention in Government hands of the property and patents of enemy aliens; the enforcement of antitrust laws and the encouragement of competition; a set of fiscal policies providing a five-point program to "complement and supplement private enterprise."

IV

I put it in this summary fashion because only thus can one get a sense of its sweep and boldness.

Cutting across both parts of the plan are certain crucial features: First, the economy it envisages is neither an uncontrolled, "free market" economy, nor is it monolithic. It is a mixed economy, using a whole variety of controls. Second, we have for the first time a plan that really aims at full utilization of men, machines, and resources. Third, it does not flinch from the first imperative of the state—the provision of comprehensive social security. Fourth, it understands that between total war and the enduring basis of peace there must be a transition stage. Fifth, it is a plan that is an organic whole, and that cannot easily be separated into fragments

by a pick-and-choose process. Sixth, it envisages the problems of demobilized war-industry workers, as well as demobilized soldiers. Seventh, it understands that Government must be a partner for good with management and labor. Eighth, it neither seeks to stifle private enterprise nor glorify it, but puts it on its mettle, gives it assistance, and—where it fails—supplements or supplants it. Ninth, it provides for centralization of authority along with decentralization of administration. It does not allow the confusion of a system of federalism to paralyze what the nation as a whole has to do. Tenth, it is primarily based in its economic theory on the Keynes-Hansen school of thinking, but it avoids some of the dangers of that school by not pinning everything on fiscal and spending and investment control, and by emphasizing that public works must serve socially useful and creative purposes.

Above all else it recognizes that the young people are the base on which the American future will have to be built, and that we cannot allow them to despair of the economic effectiveness of a democracy, nor to be shut off from access to the stream of thinking and living and work experience that we call education.

What we have is a weapon to win the war with, and to win the peace with. The question is whether we will use it.

By DWIGHT J. BRADLEY, D.D.
Director Cong'l Council for Social Action

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Just Out A vital study of the new social spirit in religious life called to be the moving force of the future world, which shall be born out of the crisis of this war. **\$1.50**

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- Wm. Lindsay Young

PRESIDENT

About Books

Which Way Ahead? by Walter Russell Bowie. Harpers. \$1.50.

This book consists of an analysis, a plan, and a challenge. It treats almost every phase of Christianity's impact upon modern culture, such as the missionary enterprise, postwar adjustments, Church unity, education for effective Churchmanship, and the application of Christian principles to the social, economic, and industrial order.

The author, Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, of Union Theological Seminary, answers the question, Which way ahead? with the warning that in a spiritual crisis, as in a military one, we may come with "too little and too late." In similar vein is one of the most intriguing sentences of the book: "Surely the recent parable of history should teach us that a Church which walks smugly round in this present world carrying nothing but yesterday's umbrella is headed for a spiritual Munich." Dr. Bowie suggests four primary lessons taught by our own times: (1) The need for knowing whether there is anything, and if so what it is, that is worth complete devotion; (2) the necessity of discipline; (3) the cost in effort that must be paid for the supreme objectives; and (4) the inspiration of great loyalties and the capacity of ordinary men for courage and sacrifice if the cause is great.

The plan proposed is one designed to secure spiritual growth through definite stages of increased training and dedication. To that end four "orders" of Church membership for laymen are suggested—Order of Bethlehem, Order of Nazareth, Order of Capernaum, and Order of Jerusalem—roughly paralleling successive stages in the life and ministry of our Lord. These begin with ministry to young children and their parents, and carry through to study of Churchmanship and the application of

the Christian ethic to economic and social problems.

Such a plan is probably particularly congenial to the Episcopalian mind, accustomed to its similar orders of the clergy. Whatever criticisms may be brought against Dr. Bowie's plan, it is at least definite, original, and clear-cut. Hence it is worthy of careful consideration.

Although this book won a great early popularity through its designation by the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker as the Presiding Bishop's Book for Lent of 1943, its own merit will assure its continued value long after that Lenten season is closed.

FRANK L. REARICK

On Being a Real Person, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harpers. \$2.50.

When Dr. Fosdick was preacher at the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, he started the practice of setting aside time each week for conference with individuals who wanted to bring to him their personal problems. He soon became "painfully aware" of his limitations in dealing with these problems. So he sought and secured the co-operation of the psychiatrist and the help of books on mental hygiene. The result is made abundantly clear in this book. Any reader will find in it much of value bearing upon his own problems, and much value also if he desires to be a counselor of others.

Starting with one's full acceptance of himself there is a fine balance in the book between "bearing one's own burdens" and "casting one's burdens on the Lord," between the realistic facing up to life as it is and the function of faith.

A part of the attractiveness of the book is Fosdick's lucid style, and the awareness, while one is reading, that behind the words is the career of one of the greatest preach-

ers and ministers of our modern age.

To this reviewer such a good book really deserves a title with more spark in it.

M. WILLARD LAMPE

It's Your Souls We Want, by Steward W. Herman, Jr. Harpers. \$2.50.

The history of the Nazis' contact with the Church and the meaning of that contact has been admirably treated in this book written by the former pastor of the American Church in Berlin who, after the outbreak of war in 1939, worked with the American Embassy until the declaration of war against the United States.

A totalitarian power claiming total obedience cannot ignore religion. Its relationship to religion will depend upon the nature of religion in the country involved as well as the beliefs of the leaders. In Germany, the Nazis sought at first to work with the Churches in some program of co-ordinated effort, but this plan failed completely.

The German Churches soon divided into three groups. The German Christians, rationalizing their Christian teachings in terms of National Socialism, sought to bring the Church completely in line with the totalitarian beliefs. The neutrals sought to work as pastors without commitment upon any points of issue. The Confessionalists believed the status of the Church as Christian was endangered. The same three divisions existed in the Catholic Church as in the Evangelical Churches. The conflict between the groups ended with the arrest of Martin Niemoeller. Decisions henceforth were not made by any of the three groups but by the police.

Men nurtured in the century-old skepticism of Feuerbach were hostile to the Church, and, when the policy of using the Church as part of the Nazi program failed, this group, including Goebbels, Himmler, and Rosenberg, directed a campaign for the supplanting of the Christian religion by a National Socialist mysticism.

The result is an ersatz religion complete in every way. But it is not the religion of the German people, who, even in war, remain loyal to their traditional Churches. Mr. Herman must be commended for his admirable restraint and fairness in showing that the aberrations of the Nazi chieftains are not typical of the German Church.

Americans would do well to take a word of warning. The Nazis rose to power partly by making the Jews the scapegoat for the failure of Germany to win in 1918. The Nazis in power are seeking for another scapegoat if they fail. This time it will be the Christian Church. The survival of Christianity as a strong influence in Germany will depend upon the type of peace that the United Nations give to the world.

JOHN FIELD MULHOLLAND

World Order in Historical Perspective, by Hans Kohn. Harvard University Press. \$3.00.

The Discovery of Freedom, by Rose Wilder Lane. John Day. \$2.50.

Heritage and Destiny, by John A. Mackay. Macmillan. \$1.50.

Here are three philosophies of history as different as they could possibly be. Dr. Kohn, Professor of History in Smith College, views his subject from the standpoint of the professional analyst. Looking upon a combination of rational order and individual liberty as the *summum bonum* of the world, he sees the present war as an interruption in the attainment of this goal. After the conflict is over we must strive again to secure the dignity of the individual and make it the center of society. The nation is the essential form for attaining the proper political, cultural, and economic organization.

Mrs. Lane's approach is that of the democratic frontiersman. Having been born in Dakota Territory and having enjoyed the liberties of the pioneer, she looks

upon government and political organization as the enemy of freedom as well as of human energy. To her, the supreme good is man's knowledge that he is free. However, political, social, and economic controls frustrate its attainment. The planned economy which Dr. Kohn advocates would have no place in Mrs. Lane's scheme of things. The acceptance of the political philosophy of nationalism is, in her judgment, an absolute surrender of democracy.

Dr. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, looks through the eyes of a Christian statesman. The most potent force shaping the destiny of mankind today is not something ahead of us that lures us on. Our creative pattern of life can only be found by a rediscovery of the past. When God, coming in the Great Tradition, is chosen as the chief heritage of humanity, then men will fulfill their true destiny in personal, cultural, and national life.

Thus you have three distinct philosophies of history with three ultimate goals—rational order, freedom, and God. And, as Dr. Mackay points out, when you get the third, the other two fall into their proper places.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

The Unrelenting Struggle, by Winston S. Churchill. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

What can one say that has not been said about the speeches of the Honorable Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain? They are magnificent in diction, incomparable in style, masterful and compelling in every way. And those speeches, the ones covering the period from November 12, 1940, to December 30, 1941, have now been assembled in book form. But it is not with the style or diction of these speeches that one is most impressed. Their value lies, not in their literary worth, but in their historical interest.

The Unrelenting Struggle is a review of the war in the dramatic terms of daily impressions upon one who bears the burden

of it in greater measure than perhaps any other single man. It is almost as if Mr. Churchill had written a diary, for he speaks clearly as soon as a situation can be analyzed without disclosing anything of value to the enemy. He reveals the considerations on which the judgments of leadership are based, shows the margins by which decisions to do or not to do are determined, admits errors, praises and blames, and does all with a refreshing frankness that might be a pattern worthy of emulation in this country. His addresses thus are history with a freshness that the conventional text can never match.

The book is arranged with the speeches in chronological order, with a running table of events relating to the war that have occurred in the interval between one speech and the next. It may help to remember that November, 1940, was the date of Mr. Roosevelt's election to a third term, and that December, 1941, saw us plunge through Pearl Harbor and into the struggle which still rages.

Let no reader be distressed that this book is made up of speeches. Mr. Churchill is no ordinary speaker, and what he says here comes directly from the center of the Allied War Councils. It is a stimulating experience to watch the great leader of a great people thinking his way through a struggle for national existence.

PAUL MCFARLIN

The American Jew, a Composite Portrait, edited by Oscar I. Janowsky. Harpers. \$2.50.

This is a book by Jews about Jews. It is a thorough, honest, frank, and fair book that should render a genuine service toward an understanding and, let us hope, a solution of the "Jewish problem."

Its expressed purpose is to "survey, analyze, and interpret the functioning of the Jewish group in America"; or, to put it another way, "to discern the character, trends, and values inherent in American Jewish life." It is an attempt of the Jew-

ish group first to understand themselves and then to interpret themselves to the whole society of which they are a part.

The book begins with a historical survey that traces the origin, growth, and distinguishing characteristics of the three main groups of Jews in America—the Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese), German, and East European Jews. It then proceeds to examine the place of the synagogue in the Jewish communal life, the various sects of Judaism (Orthodox, Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative), and the present religious outlook. This is followed by a discriminating study of Jewish education, traditional and modern, with special emphasis on the various efforts made by the Jews to conserve the Hebrew language, traditions, and culture and the several types of schools that have emerged from these efforts.

A study is then made of Jewish literature and of the whole Hebrew cultural movement in the United States. The structure of the Hebrew "community" is analyzed, showing the place of its religious, benevolent, fraternal, and philanthropic institutions and agencies. A comprehensive statistical economic survey, showing the occupational distribution and trends among the Jews, is used as the basis of determining to what extent, if any, anti-Semitism may be traced to the occupational or economic structure of Judaism.

This penetrating analysis of Jewish communal life is followed by a study of the causes and cures of anti-Semitism and by an analysis of the philosophies of Jewish life current among the Jews themselves. This section of the book is an enlightening contribution of the Jews toward the solution of their own problem.

Perhaps the most influential of these philosophies at the present time is Zionism. Running through all the chapters of the book is the insistence that a Jewish national home is important for the self-respect of the Jewish people; that such a home in no way conflicts with their loyalty

to any particular country in which large numbers of them may live; and that it will enable them best to make their total cultural contribution to mankind.

To round out the picture the volume concludes with an effort to evaluate the portrait of the Jewish life given in the book. Special emphasis is given to the ideals of the American system and the room that system offers for the development of various autonomous culture groups who, at the same time, remain true to their ancient traditions and enrich the total life of the country.

The book is an open and frank appeal for a place under the sun for Jews and for their chance to live their own lives, to develop their own traditions, and to form their own cultural community within the framework of the several countries in which they exist. Its sole weakness is the failure of the authors to admit that the Jews themselves are, to any large extent, responsible for the hatreds heaped upon them. But, perhaps, it is too much to expect them to make this admission when so much of the persecution has no justification whatever either in fact or in ethics.

This book, if widely read, would contribute much to a better relationship between the Jews and the Gentiles and to a proper solution of the problem with which it deals.

ILION T. JONES

Danger! Keep Out, by Edward J. Nichols. Houghton, Mifflin. \$2.50.

This is a lusty, outspoken story in which the hero is caught up in the rushing development of the automobile age and under its influence radically changes and expands. The change and expansion appear as a struggle within the hero's body, causing a mixture of disaster and progress. But the hero is not an individual; the hero is a pioneer oil refinery that keeps pace with the development of the gasoline motor and the swift multiplication of the automobile. The men who work within the re-

finery form its body and are at once responsible for and influenced by the changes demanded. The processes that go on within the bounds of the plant as it changes to meet new demands either make men grow or shunt them off as no longer useful. The growth from a small plant, where laborers are individuals, to a giant research and manufacturing institution, where individuals become cogs in a machine, is graphically presented. As one reads, he feels that this is what had to happen; nothing could have stopped the process.

The author writes out of personal experience in a refinery during its period of growth. He is not trying to draw morals or grind social axes in the unfolding of his story. Rather he paints a mural as he describes the changes that took place. And so skillfully is the painting done that one does not want to put down the book until the last page has been read. The crude, uncultured speech of some of the characters might be distasteful to many people, but one must admit that it is just the type of language such characters would use. This is the only criticism that the book really deserves, for its theme and its excellence of style and writing merit high praise.

FREDERICK W. BRINK

Semantics: The Nature of Words and Their Meanings, by Hugh R. Walpole. Norton. \$2.50.

Semantics is semasiology, according to the dictionary. If we run that down a little farther we come out of the woods to discover that semantics is really a study of the meaning of words, than which there is scarcely anything more interesting for those who are the least bit intellectually inclined. There is a fascination about the use of words that begins with the

earliest babble of childhood and continues while life lasts.

The present discussion of semantics by Mr. Walpole is a successor, in a sense, to what Ogden and Richards started some time ago when they published *The Meaning of Meaning*. Mr. Walpole devotes several chapters of his book to an argument for learning "Basic English" and using it as a means of improving one's knowledge of English.

Throughout the book the reader is conscious of a sharpening of the mind as he digs deeper into the theory and practice of the meaning of words. He discovers that language has tremendous potential power, and that those speakers and writers who have been able to influence men most were not tricksters but skillful practitioners in the use of words. In reading this book one has to get familiar with such technical terms as "emotive language," "referents," "signs," "context," "symbols," "metaphors," "fictions," and the characteristics of "Basic English." The book will undoubtedly become a handbook to many a minister or layman because of its practical help in the use of English.

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The question discussed in this book is a fundamental one: "What grounds have we for belief in God?" Dr. Farmer maintains that God is not an abstract idea but a living personal Will and that His presence is known in concrete situations where decisions must be made. Written with warmth and vitality, this powerful book makes a new and fresh approach and is of interest to the general reader as well as to students of philosophy and to ministers.

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Facts and Figures

Religious Principles as Peace Standards. "I would like to see ministers preach in 10,000 pulpits on how to write principles of our religion into the problems of our relations with other peoples of the world after this war," declared Governor Harold Stassen, of Minnesota, speaking at the University of Dubuque, a Presbyterian school, where he received the third honorary rectorship.

"When we seek to apply our religion," Governor Stassen said, "we may disagree on the exact application, but it is better to be seeking to apply religious principles than to decide these problems on a strictly materialistic or selfish basis."

Place of Religion at Peace Table. Pleas that religion be accorded a seat at the peace table and that a "peace conference of religions" be set up to function in collaboration with any international peace gathering were voiced by speakers at the 38th Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in New York early in April.

Resolutions adopted by the council appealed to the United Nations to open havens of refuge in neutral countries for the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution and urged that the U. S. Government's proposed Conference of Refugees "be held without delay and that heroic measures be speedily adopted to avert the complete extinction of the European Jewish communities."

British Churchmen on Indian Situation. An appeal for a public declaration of the facts regarding the Indian situation was made recently in London. An open letter, signed by leading Churchmen, was addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Metropolitan of India, and the Moderators of the Church of Scot-

land and the Free Church Federal Council.

Citing a need for clarification of the moral and spiritual issues of the Indian problem as it affects the people of both Great Britain and India, the letter asserts that the Indian situation has culminated in a "wholly negative and nonconstructive relationship."

"Given statesmanship, initiative, foresight, and readiness to negotiate on equal terms," the letter adds, "a new chapter can be begun in the history of our relations with that unhappy country which will conform to the standards of responsible government required by the new world we are determined to build."

Conscientious Objectors in Britain. According to a London news release, the latest statistics supplied by the British Minister of Labor show that about 65,000 men and 2,500 women have applied for registration as conscientious objectors to military service. This represents about 86 out of every 10,000 men registered, and 27 out of every 10,000 women. The numbers for men have fallen in successive registrations from 222 per 10,000 in October, 1939, at the start of the war, to 36 per 10,000 in 1942.

Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. Formation of a Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, designed to co-ordinate relief efforts of more than 20 different Protestant denominations, was announced recently. The new body, with more widespread activities, will supersede the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches. It will work in close co-operation with Governmental relief agencies and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations of the United States Department of State. Har-

per Sibley, prominent layman recently elected treasurer of the Federal Council, is chairman of the new committee, and Dr. Leslie Bates Moss, executive director in the former committee, will continue in that capacity in the new organization.

Churchmen Organize Voter's Guide

Agency. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders have just organized Government Research, Inc., to serve as a "voter's guide" in gathering and disseminating strictly factual information concerning candidates for local office.

The organization will not indulge in name-calling, nor will it endorse any candidate. Spokesmen for the organizations, which will include a women's council, said it is the hope of those on the board that their efforts will encourage qualified candidates to seek public office.

War Revives Child Labor. The following news items present a graphic picture of the increase of child labor in recent months and the tragic results.

"A 13-year-old boy died yesterday of injuries suffered when he was drawn into a dough-mixing machine. The owner of the bakery said that the boy started to scrape dough from the machine while it was running and the machinery caught his arm."—Chicago Tribune, February 6, 1943.

"Working on a near-by farm because of the labor shortage, a 13-year-old boy lost his arm when, in a moment of relaxed vigilance, the sleeve of his sweater became entangled in a threshing machine. Hospital physicians said his condition was serious."—Philadelphia Inquirer, November 18, 1942.

"Children as young as 10 years of age were found capping strawberries in a cold-storage plant. Twenty-four children 10 to 15 years old started work at 3 A.M. and capped berries until 7 A.M. when they stopped to eat breakfast and go to school. Some of the children stayed out of school entirely during the strawberry season and worked from 3 A.M. until 3 P.M."—The Child (Federal Children's Bureau), October, 1942.

Divorce Legislation in New York.

A bill, designed to make the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding the validity of Nevada divorces ineffective in New York State, has been sent to Governor Dewey by the Legislature.

The bill provides that when the matrimonial domicile of husband or wife is in New York State, either may restrain the other from instituting action for divorce in a foreign state or country unless both have been personally served there with a process.

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Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a reviewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

The Moon Is Down—with Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Henry Travers. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) The Steinbeck novel has become a powerful cinematic study of Nazi invaders and the heroic citizens of a Norwegian mining town. There is little action in the sense of plot development. There is much talk, but it is good talk—Steinbeck dialogue, excellently delivered. Underplayed by a fine cast, with an absence of heroes, the picture achieves the simplicity of reality, a reality strengthened by understandably human Nazis. **Mature.**

Corregidor—with Otto Kruger, Elissa Landi. (Producers.) This picture of the Japanese attack on the Philippines moves through some of the small islands and finally becomes localized on Corregidor during the last days of the siege. The action is divided between a somewhat artificial emotional interest and the garrison's desperate fighting, which ends with the surrender of the Rock. Although overacted, the film offers a good impression of the ceaseless Japanese onslaught and the heroism of the nurses and doctors under fire. **Mature.**

The Ox-Bow Incident—with Henry Fonda, Dana Andrews. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) From the novel by Walter Van Tilburg Clark, this is the story of the hanging of three innocent men at Ox-Bow in Nevada in the '80's. In a larger sense, it is a study of mob psychology and an indictment of those who take justice into their own hands. The picture unfolds at a slow, relentless pace, reaching its climax with tragic inevitability. It is a pitiless, stark, and moving story. The film is directed and acted with great skill and is, as can be gathered, strong meat. It is not for those who fear being disturbed by a realistic portrayal of ugly emotions. **Mature.**

This Land Is Mine—with Charles Laughton, Maureen O'Hara. (RKO Radio.) A schoolmaster, somewhere in occupied Europe, content with many of his townsmen, to believe that a German occupation might be tolerable, is stirred from his complacency by the gradual unmasking of Nazi tyranny. But his regeneration really begins when the revered headmaster shows him that his responsibility as a leader is to show the children that through them their nation can regain its freedom and its honor. His conversion is complete when his leader is executed. In the face of certain death, he holds his last class, reading to his boys "A Declaration of the Rights of Man." This goes far deeper than the usual picture. The film is a masterly treatment of problems of the occupied country and the reaction of its people and is one of the most significant war films yet produced. **Family—12 years and over.**

Idaho—with Roy Rogers. (Republic.) A modern Western that manages to depart from the usual and to offer a few new situations as well as some good instrumental and vocal music. An ex-convict, who has gone straight for thirty years and becomes a judge, is recognized by the woman owner of a local gambling resort that he wants to close. The judge is unjustly accused of murder, but eventually the real culprit is caught and all is well. **Family.**

China—with Loretta Young, and Alan Ladd. (Paramount.) A hard young American selling oil to the Japanese in China, before Pearl Harbor, has a change of heart as he sees Chinese courage in the face of enemy outrages. His chance meeting with an American teacher, as she takes her Chinese students to a university in the interior, develops into love and hastens a regeneration that sends the young man to his death, fighting for the Chinese cause. Action and excitement, excellent camera work, effective settings, and some good acting compensate somewhat for the badly written and implausible story. **Mature.**

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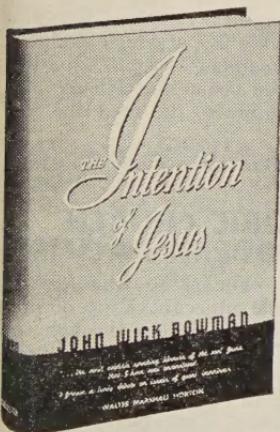
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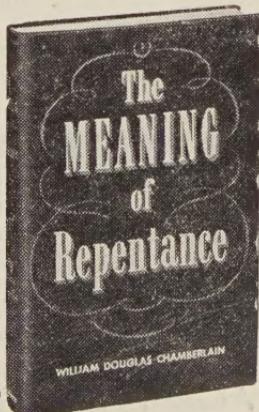
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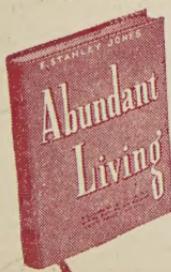
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